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ORIGINAL PAPERS

HUMOUR

BY
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In my work on *Wit and its relation to the Unconscious* (1905) I considered humour really from the economic point of view alone. My object was to discover the source of the pleasure derived from humour, and I think I was able to show that that pleasure proceeds from a saving in expenditure of affect.

There are two ways in which the process at work in humour may take place. Either one person may himself adopt a humorous attitude, while a second person acts as spectator, and derives enjoyment from the attitude of the first; or there may be two people concerned, one of whom does not himself take any active share in producing the humorous effect, but is regarded by the other in a humorous light. To take a very crude example: when the criminal who is being led to the gallows on a Monday observes, 'Well, this is a good beginning to the week', he himself is creating the humour; the process works itself out in relation to himself and evidently it affords him a certain satisfaction. I am merely a listener who has not assisted in this functioning of his sense of humour, but I feel its effect, as it were from a distance. I detect in myself a certain humorous satisfaction, possibly much as he does.

We have an instance of the second type of humour when a writer or a comedian depicts the behaviour of real or imaginary people in a humorous fashion. There is no need for the people described to display any humour; the humorous attitude only concerns the person who makes them the object of it, and the reader or hearer shares his enjoyment of the humour, as in the former instance. To sum up, then, we may say that the humorous attitude—in whatever it consists—may

have reference to the subject's self or to other people ; further, we may assume that it is a source of enjoyment to the person who adopts it, and, finally, a similar pleasure is experienced by observers who take no actual part in it.

We shall best understand the origin of the pleasure derived from humour if we consider the process which takes place in the mind of anyone listening to another man's jest. He sees this other person in a situation which leads him to anticipate that the victim will show signs of some affect ; he will get angry, complain, manifest pain, fear, horror, possibly even despair. The person who is watching or listening is prepared to follow his lead, and to call up the same emotions. But his anticipations are deceived ; the other man does not display any affect—he makes a joke. It is from the saving of expenditure in feeling that the hearer derives the humorous satisfaction.

It is easy to get so far, but we soon say to ourselves that it is the process in the other man, the ' humorist ', which calls for the greater attention. There is no doubt that the essence of humour is that one spares oneself the affects to which the situation would naturally give rise and overrides with a jest the possibility of such an emotional display. Thus far, the process must be the same in the humorist and his hearer. Or, to put it more accurately, the hearer must have copied the process in the mind of the humorist. But how does the latter arrive at that mental attitude which makes the discharge of affect superfluous ? What is the dynamic process underlying the ' humorous attitude ' ? Clearly, the solution of this problem is to be found in the humorist himself ; in the listener we may suppose there is only an echo, a copy of this unknown process.

It is now time to acquaint ourselves with some of the characteristics of humour. Like wit and the comic, humour has in it a *liberating* element. But it has also something fine and elevating, which is lacking in the other two ways of deriving pleasure from intellectual activity. Obviously, what is fine about it is the triumph of narcissism, the ego's victorious assertion of its own invulnerability. It refuses to be hurt by the arrows of reality or to be compelled to suffer. It insists that it is impervious to wounds dealt by the outside world, in fact, that these are merely occasions for affording it pleasure. This last trait is a fundamental characteristic of humour. Suppose the criminal being led to execution on a Monday had said : ' It doesn't worry me. What does it matter, after all, if a fellow like me is hanged ? The world won't come to an end '. We should have to admit that this

speech of his displays the same magnificent rising superior to the real situation; what he says is wise and true, but it does not betray a trace of humour. Indeed, it is based on an appraisal of reality which runs directly counter to that of humour. Humour is not resigned; it is rebellious. It signifies the triumph not only of the ego, but also of the pleasure-principle, which is strong enough to assert itself here in the face of the adverse real circumstances.

These two last characteristics, the denial of the claim of reality and the triumph of the pleasure-principle, cause humour to approximate to the regressive or reactionary processes which engage our attention so largely in psycho-pathology. By its repudiation of the possibility of suffering, it takes its place in the great series of methods devised by the mind of man for evading the compulsion to suffer—a series which begins with neurosis and delusions, and includes intoxication, self-induced states of abstraction and ecstasy. Owing to this connection, humour possesses a dignity which is wholly lacking, for instance, in wit, for the aim of wit is either simply to afford gratification, or, in so doing, to provide an outlet for aggressive tendencies. Now in what does this humorous attitude consist, by means of which one refuses to undergo suffering, asseverates the invincibility of one's ego against the real world and victoriously upholds the pleasure-principle, yet all without quitting the ground of mental sanity, as happens when other means to the same end are adopted? Surely it seems impossible to reconcile the two achievements.

If we turn to consider the situation in which one person adopts a humorous attitude towards others, one view which I have already tentatively suggested in my book on wit will seem very evident. It is this: that the one is adopting towards the other the attitude of an adult towards a child, recognizing and smiling at the triviality of the interests and sufferings which seem to the child so big. Thus the humorist acquires his superiority by assuming the rôle of the grown-up, identifying himself to some extent with the father, while he reduces the other people to the position of children. This supposition is probably true to fact, but it does not seem to take us very far. We ask ourselves what makes the humorist arrogate to himself this rôle?

Here we must recall the other, perhaps the original and more important, situation in humour, in which a man adopts a humorous attitude towards himself in order to ward off possible suffering. Is there any sense in saying that someone is treating himself like a child

and is at the same time playing the part of the superior adult in relation to this child ?

This idea does not seem very plausible, but I think that if we consider what we have learnt from pathological observations of the structure of our ego, we shall find a strong confirmation of it. This ego is not a simple entity ; it harbours within it, as its innermost core, a special institution : the super-ego. Sometimes it is amalgamated with this, so that we cannot distinguish the one from the other, while in other circumstances the two can be sharply differentiated. Genetically the super-ego inherits the position of the parents in the mental hierarchy ; it often holds the ego in strict subordination, and still actually treats it as the parents (or the father) treated the child in his early years. We obtain a dynamic explanation of the humorous attitude, therefore, if we conclude that it consists in the subject's removing the accent from his own ego and transferring it on to his super-ego. To the super-ego, thus inflated, the ego can appear tiny and all its interests trivial, and with this fresh distribution of energy it may be an easy matter for it to suppress the potential reactions of the ego.

To preserve our customary phraseology, let us not speak of transferring the accent, but rather of displacing large quantities of cathexis. We shall then ask whether we are justified in imagining such extensive displacements from one institution in the mental apparatus to another. It looks like a new hypothesis, conceived *ad hoc ;* yet we may recollect that repeatedly, even if not often enough, we have taken such a factor into account when endeavouring to form some metapsychological conception of the mental processes. For instance, we assumed that the difference between ordinary erotic object-cathexis and the state of being in love was that in the latter case incomparably more cathexis passes over to the object, the ego as it were emptying itself into the object. The study of some cases of paranoia proved to me that ideas of persecution are formed early, and exist for a long time without any perceptible effect, until as the result of some definite occasion they receive a sufficient amount of cathexis to cause them to become dominant. The cure of paranoiac attacks of this sort, too, will lie not so much in resolving and correcting the delusional ideas as in withdrawing from them the cathexis they have attracted. The alternation between melancholia and mania, between a cruel suppressing of the ego by the super-ego and the liberation of the ego after this oppression, suggests some such shifting of cathexis ; and this conception would,

moreover, explain a number of phenomena in normal mental life. If, hitherto, we have but seldom had recourse to this explanation, it has been on account of our customary caution, which is surely rather praiseworthy than otherwise. The ground on which we feel ourselves secure is that of mental pathology; it is here that we make our observations and win our convictions. For the present we commit ourselves to an opinion concerning the normal only in so far as we detect it amongst the isolated and distorted features of the morbid. When once this hesitation is overcome, we shall recognize how greatly the static conditions as well as the dynamic alteration in the quantity of the energic cathexis contribute to our understanding of mental processes.

I think, therefore, that the possibility I have suggested, namely, that in a given situation the subject suddenly effects a hyper-cathexis of the super-ego, which in its turn alters the reactions of the ego, is one which deserves to be established. Moreover, we find a striking analogy to this hypothesis of mine about humour in the kindred field of wit. I was led to assume that wit originates in the momentary abandoning of a conscious thought to unconscious elaboration, wit being therefore the contribution of the unconscious to the comic. In just the same way humour would be a contribution to the comic made through the agency of the super-ego.

In other respects we know that the super-ego is a stern master. It may be said that it accords ill with its character that it should wink at affording the ego a little gratification. It is true that the pleasure derived from humour is never so intense as that produced by the comic or by wit and never finds a vent in hearty laughter. It is also true that, in bringing about the humorous attitude, the super-ego is really repudiating reality and serving an illusion. But (without quite knowing why) we attribute to this less intensive pleasure a high value: we feel it to have a peculiarly liberating and elevating effect. Besides, the jest made in humour is not the essential thing; it has only the value of a proof. The principal thing is the intention which humour fulfils, whether it concerns the subject's self or other people. Its meaning is: 'Look here! This is all that this seemingly dangerous world amounts to. Child's play—the very thing to jest about!'

If it is really the super-ego which, in humour, speaks such kindly words of comfort to the intimidated ego, this teaches us that we have still very much to learn about the nature of that institution. Further, we note that it is not everyone who is capable of the humorous attitude:

it is a rare and precious gift, and there are many people who have not even the capacity for deriving pleasure from humour when it is presented to them by others. Finally, if the super-ego does try to comfort the ego by humour and to protect it from suffering, this does not conflict with its derivation from the parental institution.

LECTURES ON TECHNIQUE IN PSYCHO-ANALYSIS (*continued*)

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V

THE TRANSFERENCE-NEUROSIS

You will have observed that our discussion of counter-resistance and counter-transference has been inserted between the subject of resistance in general and consideration of the ' transference-neurosis '. In adopting this course I was influenced by two considerations. The first was simply that an overhaul of counter-resistance is a useful corrective to any review of the patient's resistances. The second will, I imagine, serve the purpose of introducing the present theme. *It is safe to say that at no stage of an analysis are the analyst's reactions, or his convictions about the fundamental truths of psycho-analysis, put to a more severe test than during that stage when the ground of the patient's conflict has been shifted, from external situations or internal maladaptations of a symptomatic sort, to the analytic situation itself.* So much so that I feel justified in commencing the discussion by repeating that the main objective of counter-resistance differs in no essential from the main objective of resistance, viz. flight from any real appreciation of the Œdipus situation. The analyst has indeed one defensive advantage over the patient in this respect: should his sensitiveness to the Œdipus situation still persist to any extent, he can disguise this fact from himself by the supreme rationalization of being a professional psycho-analyst, i.e. one whose main activities will be *in the direction of* resolving Œdipus conflict in others. I say ' in the direction of ' advisedly, because the intellectualistic view of analysis and interpretation is just as liable to prove a broken reed for the analyst as for the patient. It is not simply a desire to oust the parent that makes a patient attempt to conduct his own analysis or that stimulates him to ' take up analysis ' professionally; he has in addition grasped the intellectualistic possibilities of defence which exist in analytic activity. In a word, for both analyst and patient the ' proof of the pudding ' is the transference.

In approaching the transference-neurosis we must recapture the sense of movement with which we were concerned in the opening phases. We saw then how, taking the average run of cases, the analysis

begins with a certain impetus which carries us up to a first critical period where there is some risk of the process being abandoned by the patient. We have been busy getting him ' going ' and keeping him going, sampling the type of defence shown and the main trends of unconscious preoccupation, easing obstacles, and at suitable moments preparing the ground for further work by interpretative explanations. To put the matter a little more technically, we may say that the difficulties we encounter in the opening phases are of threefold origin : (*a*) the nature of unconscious phantasy, together with (pre)conscious representations of these phantasies, (*b*) the nature of unconscious ego-reactions to phantasy-life together with (pre)conscious ego-reactions, and (*c*) the nature of spontaneous transference-reactions. In overcoming these difficulties we adopt two methods. The first is more or less direct, i.e. we draw attention to the existence of unconscious preoccupations and to the existence of unconscious ego-attitudes of defence. The second is indirect, in the sense that we illustrate the existence of unconscious preoccupations and reactions by reference to immediate transferences to ourselves. The amount of interference, though varying in individual cases, never exceeds the optimum amount required, viz. that which is necessary to aid the process of free association. Although our interpretations at this stage are rarely very deep (unless in exceptional cases), we have frequent opportunity of practising what might very loosely be termed libido analysis, ego analysis and transference analysis respectively. Hence without obscuring the picture, we accustom the patient to a new point of view (super-ego modification), and at the same time prepare the ground for future work.

Of course we have never really been blind to the fact that our work was only commencing. As we have seen, the patient's defences have been ready for every emergency, and we do well not to be hoodwinked by any progress he may seem to be making. Neither may we lay any unction to our technique if the symptoms seem to clear up ; indeed if they do clear up we must be ready to face a not long delayed attempt to shelve or closure the analysis. As I have said, when the first impetus dies down and our first set of difficulties have been overcome, we are soon made aware that the removal or alleviation of one set of defences is merely the signal for another set to commence operations. *In the average run of cases, this is evidenced by an at first almost imperceptible change in the atmosphere of the analysis.* Let us take, for example, what usually happens in a simple anxiety case. To begin with, we have as a rule been able to get a ' mixed bag ' of associations. Various emotional

experiences and crises have probably been *picked out*, but we are left with the impression, first that the affect was disproportionate in the sense of being exaggerated, and second, that it has not really been exhausted by the recital of these events. In the same way we learn at first a certain amount of historical detail about childhood, but that too is selectively presented. Nevertheless, watching the 'drift' of unconscious associations, we have seen that it is concerned almost constantly with situations of an anxiety type, connected with ideas of loss, injury, depreciation, inferiority and so forth. To use one of the convenient labels, we get the impression that castration anxiety is a marked feature of the case. We shall probably have occasion to note that images of this sort have a fascination as well as a horror, that in various ways they seem to be courted, or that reported injury situations have been somehow engineered. We shall probably find similar evidence in the patient's dreams, which are vivid, accompanied by anxiety and concerned with variations on the general theme of loss. Some other characteristics are likely to be observed. A tendency to introjection, to include within the boundaries of the ego many external situations where emotional crises similar to those fostered by the patient may be found; a tendency to soak up anxiety with the absorbent of external circumstances. Another tendency will become more and more obvious: *that the more recent the emotional situation experienced or observed the more amply it is elaborated.*

Now as to the type of defences, there can be little doubt that these are of the repression type of ego-resistance. The numerous pauses, halts and switches indicate the ego's intention to keep both id-excitations and super-ego criticism at a distance by withdrawal of cathexis. The patient does not ventilate all sorts of general reaction-formations; indeed the main indication of reaction-formation is localized and selective; it is represented by solicitude for the welfare of members of the family, a sort of localized ambivalence. When, however, we have spent some time examining these repression resistances, finding out what specific situation lies behind the pause, endeavouring to elicit still earlier examples and at the same time demonstrating the existence of anxiety-reactions which are not adequately explained by current or recent reality, the result of dealing with this first line of defences is interesting but not unexpected. *Instead of going backwards chronologically, we seem to come inevitably forward, i.e. to be more and more concerned with the present day.* Again, we find that instead of the minor pauses to which we have been accustomed, the whole analytic

session tends to be converted into one pause, in the sense that the patient brings forward each day a certain number of observations usually about matters concerned with the previous twenty-four hours and, having brought his diary up to date, intimates that there is nothing else in his mind. Moreover, he usually expresses the view that it is time the analyst did some talking and is inclined to resent any main tenance of passivity on his part.

In short, the whole analytic situation has taken on an entirely fresh complexion, and will maintain this complexion with various degrees of exaggeration throughout the second phase of analysis. *The transference-neurosis has commenced.* Two questions immediately arise here: first, why does one say that the transference-*neurosis* is just commencing, in view of the fact that transference-reactions have already been described as existing in the opening phase, and second, why not regard this concern with present-day matters as simply an exaggeration of existing defences? Now it is true that transference manifestations of some kind or another have been displayed from the beginning. To say that transference is everywhere is merely to say that displacement is a universal mechanism. In various ways—early dreams, slips of various sorts, certain associative material of a directly personal nature, and in general reactions to analysis—we are able to satisfy ourselves quite soon (indeed immediately) that the analyst has been fitted into various niches in the patient's mind, is being regarded with mixed feelings of affection and hostility. For example, the diffidence arising in the first few minutes of analysis is already conclusive proof of a displaced attitude. Moreover, we have already turned these reactions to advantage by interpreting them as transferences whenever a specific difficulty arose. Again, it is true that this preoccupation with current events implies a reinforcement of defence. But it would be just as simple for the patient to defend by means of a prolonged and minute recital of events concerned with adolescence or late childhood. Indeed, we know that in many obsessional types a great deal of historical elaboration, explanation and review, although ostensibly engaged in with a view to making everything ' quite clear ' to the analyst, is in part a defence of the usual reaction type. Without doubt these elaborate recitals are in the nature of explanatory apologies tendered to the patient's own super-ego, but they also serve the immediate purpose of deflecting attention, or, in other words, of making the emotional material opaque rather than clear, of obscuring the real issue with historical opacities.

Why, then, do hysterical cases choose current events for elaboration, and why is it that having made this selection they are unable to fill out the whole session with such preoccupations, but are soon brought to a halt for lack of anything further to say? *We are driven to the conclusion that the patient has been caught up in a forward sweep of libidinal interest, and that whilst it is certainly a defence in the respect that it is a sweep forward, away from memory work, it is one which is accompanied by peculiar difficulties, and is brought up short by quite specific hindrances. This sweep forward, this concern with current events, ends in a more or less complete 'jam' in the process of thinking, because its logical goal is preoccupation with the most immediate of all events, viz. life in the analytic room and immediate relations with the analyst.* Now this is a different state of affairs from that where the patient gives sporadic indications of unconscious transference, and the attitude of the patient is also different. For example, if in the earlier phases a patient desires to bring some little present or other to the analyst, or accidentally leaves a few coppers or a soiled handkerchief on the couch, or forgets all about an appointment, we are on safe ground if we interpret these actions to the patient as indications of a positive, ambivalent or negative attitude respectively. And the patient will very often accept these interpretations; not, of course, that this acceptance is either invariable or essential. But if we endeavour to suggest that this new preoccupation with current affairs is a more striking instance of the same group of reactions, and that it has an immediate personal significance we are faced with incredulity, repudiation or annoyance on his part. Moreover, he will begin to argue and will point out what is superficially true, that there is no evidence of such reactions in his associations.

At this point we may formulate our first generalizations about the transference-neurosis, viz. that *it differs from the more explosive indications of positive and negative transference as seen in early phases of analysis in that it is liable to pass unnoticed certainly by the patient, and in some cases by the analyst.* We may add as a rider to these propositions that *the main part of the analyst's work is to make this unconscious set of attitudes conscious.* I do not mean that the transference-neurosis never becomes exaggerated or explosive. It very obviously does so at times, and in fact the more we bring it into consciousness the better opportunity we have of measuring its strength. But I do mean that there is considerable risk of analytic failure if we go on the assumption that the transference-neurosis will in course

of time automatically manifest itself in a manner which will be convincing to the patient. The real essence of the transference-neurosis can be extracted only as the result of laborious attention on our part.

I have implied that conviction on the patient's part is essential to success, but as we have now familiarized ourselves with the processes of counter-resistance I need not apologize for the remark that conviction on the analyst's part is even more important. To come back to our example, the anxiety case has reached the stage where the flow of current associations soon dries up, and the view is expressed that it is time the analyst did some talking. Now if we are convinced of the psychic reality of transference phenomena, immediately the patient says 'Now its your turn to talk', we know two things: (*a*) that one of his unconscious phantasies is concerned with an infantile wish for some demonstration of love interest on the part of one or other parent. In the same way, when he reproaches us for not being active enough in analysis, we know that at least one of his set of infantile love-phantasies has had a considerable sadistic component. But this interpretation, whilst ultimately and fundamentally right, is at the moment wrong. At the moment it is the *analyst* who is asked to talk or to be more active. So our second piece of information is (*b*) that the patient's *unconscious phantasy* demands that the *analyst* should make love to him, and, in the case of the reproach about activity, that the analyst should make violent pregenital love to him. These, then, are for the moment the correct interpretations. Any amount of intellectualistic interpretation of the existence of infantile phantasies will be accepted by the patient, but the interpretation will butter no parsnips. The patient is only too glad to play Mother Hubbard to our analytical appetite so long as the real affective situation has been left untouched in the transference cupboard.

Now let us suppose that we have only one case on the treatment list and that an hysteric, suppose also that we do not feel quite sure of our ground in making transference interpretations, how are we to attain this clinical certainty as apart from personal convictions gained through training-analysis? My answer would be: take the first opportunity of analysing an obsessional neurotic. One of the characteristics of obsessional cases is that they have in consciousness ideas of which the hysteric is completely unaware. They seem in some respects to be completely unrepressed, although this is scarcely an accurate description, since if we examine the ideas in question they appear to have undergone a good deal of distortion and dis-

figurement. Another characteristic is that whilst pursuing one train of thought obsessional cases are at times vaguely aware of a parallel series, in which the same theme is being represented in a quite frankly erotic way. Some years ago an obsessional case was transferred to me after a partial analysis. (I emphasize the fact of transfer since it played a specific part in what I am about to describe.) On one occasion she began associating by saying, 'I want you to do the talking to-day'. A quick pause followed, during which she passed her hand over her face. A moment later she continued with some comment on what had been said in a previous session, and the usual fluent process of description, explanation, argument, doubt, elliptical reference, criss-crossing of ideas, etc., asserted itself. Now the phrase about my doing the talking was in itself seemingly superficial, but knowing that an obsessional never makes any gesture without some defensive purpose, I concluded that the gesture implied an attempt to shut out of her mind a parallel train of thought. So at the first moment I asked what had been in her mind at the beginning of the session. Her answer was 'An objectionable idea.' Gradually we were able to piece it together from associations, each one of which was accompanied by protests and repudiations, but none of which was stimulated or encouraged by me. I kept silence until the piecing process was complete. Like all obsessionals, she had a touching taboo intended to counteract masturbatory impulses, and this touching element had been carried over into her infantile phantasies as to the nature of adult coitus. It happened that her first analyst had given her some explanation of the significance of handling the genitals in coitus, particularly in reference to the question of activity and passivity (we need hardly be reminded that the obsessional disposition goes hand in hand with unconscious bisexual phantasies). So that when the phrase 'You do the talking' was uttered, she was aware of a fleeting thought, viz. 'You put it in.' The rest of the associations dealt with various reactions and ceremonials concerning eating and the desire for someone else to feed her, which had been in existence in one form or another since adolescence. The implications were perfectly clear in her own mind, but when at the end of the time I pointed out the existence of an unconscious erotic phantasy concerning myself, her attitude was that of a typical hysteric, viz. of violently affective repudiation. Next day I had the opportunity of conducting a slight experiment in passivity. The session commenced with a discussion of the qualities of two maidservants, one cheerful and impertinent but

sometimes helpful, the other phlegmatic, heavy, unenterprising, but quite respectful. While she spoke, my reading was as follows: 'The impertinent maid is the earlier analyst, the lumpish one myself. She resented the explanations given by the former: she read them as sexual advances and yet, whilst fearing them, she liked them. Hence she is reproaching me for my impotence or incapacity. The theme being about servants, there is probably some play on the word "service" as well as a veiled depreciating tendency.' At first I intended to break in with this interpretation as the transference phantasies were at the moment hindering progress, but partly through curiosity I delayed. At the end of the session she brought up as spontaneous associations every one of the interpretations I had had in mind, e.g. the significance of my not giving the same explanations of obscure genital practices between adults. I then said, 'So the lumpish maid was myself,' a remark which led on to a discussion of the veterinary significance of the word 'service'. I added, 'So in your phantasy I am represented as being sexually safer but more disappointing'. She hurried on to another theme, which filled out the remaining portion of the session. Next session she began by complaining that everything was pointless and useless, but as I had no further time for experimentation, I broke in to point out that this was the result of yesterday's work, that she was at the same time coming back to the unconscious phantasy, but disguising the return with the reassurance that analysis was no good, that I was impotent, that she was identifying me with a woman. This was promptly repudiated lock, stock and barrel, and the transference struggle was once more engaged.

Let us assume, however, that the foregoing example is unconvincing to you; that, in spite of the patient's unassisted expansion of the theme, you are inclined to give ear to her official emotional repudiation of the phantasy as recapitulated to her by the analyst. As we shall see later, this repudiation is extremely significant, but for the moment we will waive any further interpretation and seek for conviction amongst the narcissistic neuroses. Patients suffering from these latter disorders very often have the most acute insight into the significance of their everyday actions and ideas and will accept as obvious interpretations which would appear outrageously far-fetched to the hysteric or obsessional. When they desire to repudiate an interpretation, they effect their purpose on many occasions by a conscious attitude of immunity and indifference. 'You think so', they will sometimes say, 'and you may be right . . . but it doesn't

appear so to me : I feel nothing of it '. However, let us observe the first few minutes of a session during the analysis of a case of depression. The patient enters the room, lies down on the couch, puts her hands to the ends of a hard oblong buckle, turns it up, looks at the reverse side, turns it back, drops it and puts her hands to her side. We happen to be in a period of remission and her object-relations are more apparent, although clearly anal-sadistic in type. So in the momentary pause which follows these actions, my reading is broadly that she is acting out on a miniature stage an unconscious erotic phantasy, in which she starts with an active exhibitionistic scene of lifting up her clothes, exposing the genitals to a lover (father) who greatly admires them. I realize, too, the hostile element of the phantasy, the defiant display, the anal regressional element (the back of the buckle), the coitus phantasy, also partly homosexual (the male and female parts of the buckle rather similar in shape), and there occurs to my mind innumerable fragments of phantasies on these lines which have been indicated from time to time during previous work. I wait a few moments with the intention of calling her attention to the gestures, should she make no spontaneous reference to them. But on this occasion there is no necessity to say ' What about the buckle ? ' She goes on immediately to say ' Did you see me touch my buckle ? ' and then without pause spins an erotic phantasy which is almost idea by idea what had suggested itself to me.

During this digression we have left our hysteric on the couch repeating that it is time the analyst talked, and we may return for a moment to observe that we now know what is meant by this request. We may also remark that by then it really is time to do some talking, but talking of the kind which is not emotionally relished by the patient. I mean, of course, transference-interpretation. We may here proceed to another generalization about the transference-neurosis, viz., that *from the time we have ascertained that this transference situation is developing, everything that takes place during the analytic session, every thought, action, gesture, every reference to external thought and action, every inhibition of thought or action, relates to the transference-situation. Moreover, if we feel it necessary to do so, we may break in with a transference-interpretation at any time in the session.* We shall always be correct if we interpret any thought or action in accordance with unconscious phantasies relating to ourselves. *But*, we must add, *it is necessary to have some rhyme and reason for such interpretation.* We might say that we have set a kettle on the hob in the hope of ' bringing

it to the boil', and that whilst a lot of our preliminary work is concerned with the fire and dampers, we must keep an eye on the kettle and be ready to interpret whatever splutterings go on during our other work. But whilst we can if we wish always lift the lid, it is advisable to do so only when there is some point in this procedure. When, for example, should we draw the hysteric's attention to the significance of these transference manifestations?

Before answering this question, I wish to return to the obsessional case I mentioned, to see if we can gather any further information of practical use. Now as a matter of general interest we may remember how this patient regarded explanations given by the analyst as the equivalent unconsciously of an erotic advance. This is in keeping with what we have mentioned often before; that the whole process of analysis is regarded in general as an infantile erotic situation and often specifically as a kind of sexual attack. We can appreciate then the validity of regarding the patient's own associations as representing for his unconscious an equally infantile form of activity. The analyst's passive attitude is then a sign of femininity, and the patient's desire to regulate the analysis with explanatory passages and home-made interpretations, represents a masculine attitude. But, as has already been suggested, one of the most important events in the sequence was the fact that the patient violently repudiated what was really less an interpretation than a simple recapitulation of her own ideas and statements. Here at any rate was some of the long-lost obsessional affect; it could be released freely only when some *other* person was guilty of the crime of openly expanding an erotic phantasy. But it was more than an expression of affect; it brought clearly into consciousness the existence of a repudiating attitude, a censoring activity of the ego, which could be indulged at someone else's expense. So that *the reaction to the transference-interpretation was actually a continuance of transference-activity* aided by the process of projection. Our transference-interpretation was therefore incomplete; the unconscious phantasy had been ventilated to some extent, but the unconscious ego-reaction had still to be brought home by a reversal of her projective defence.

An illustration of this kind suffers from the absence of context. All we have done so far is to indicate that if we have the courage of our convictions as to the reality of transference-relations we can make a sufficiently accurate interpretation at any time after the transference-neurosis has commenced. We have considered one or two simple examples of erotic transference-phantasy which were very near to

consciousness, and must leave it to be assumed that much more complicated ideas and situations are repeated in the transference in a similar way. Now you might ask: what was the general significance of the manifestations of the obsessional case at that particular time, how did they relate to the course of the analysis? Suppose one does uncover a transference-phantasy, what advantage is to be gained by so doing, what shall we say if the patient turns on us with the question 'What about it?'

Now whilst I cannot for reasons of space enter into the whole history of a neurosis, I can point out that for some time before these incidents occurred I had observed the usual signs of a forward movement in this patient's phantasy life. The obsessional's current affect is in a descriptive sense not comparable with that of the hysteric; there are not the same declamatory passages and not the same glaring amnesias. Nevertheless one can gauge their feelings just as simply by noting their reaction-formations, negations, ellipses and elaborations. Direct expression of affect can, moreover, be observed in certain displaced directions. Where an hysteric will spend endless time consciously rejecting, say, an obscene word, the obsessional will spend the same time in an agony of confusion over a simple nursery phrase, e.g. 'Diddums' or 'Ducky'. Whilst an hysteric is rendered speechless by a hectic erotic phantasy, an obsessional wails loudly over a seemingly innocent piece of sentimentality, the super-ego having scented out the more primitive construction underlying the latter. Going on these indications, together with some dream observations, I concluded that the slowing down of analysis was due to transference-phantasies. This was my main reason for interference. After a good deal of repudiation we succeeded in partial elaboration of phantasies concerning myself, and some additional fragments of information concerning her early life were obtained; these were interpolated almost casually during the phantasy expansion. But in fact the transference-phantasies afforded information of quite another kind. They clinched some opinions I had formed as to the *importance of certain identifications* in the patient's development. I need not go into the significance of anal fixations on a bisexual disposition, but, as you can see, the 'talking' phantasy and the 'servant' phantasy were essentially related to a conflict or fusion of heterosexual and homosexual impulses. Now her attitude throughout analysis had alternated between amenability coupled with a desire for more active treatment and depreciation of me coupled with a tendency to do her own analysis. Here then

was an opportunity of making reference to these alternating attitudes and of linking them on the one hand to the phantasy-content and on the other to unconscious ego-attitudes. The sequence of transference-interpretation in this case was then : uncovering the phantasy, noting the affect, reversing the subsequent projection of self-criticism, relating previous analytical attitudes to the phantasy-core, and endeavouring to recognize the specific super-ego component responsible for the censoring activity. The order of these events is of course arbitrary ; under other circumstances transference-interpretation might have commenced at some other point, e.g. projected self-criticism. One need hardly add that transference-interpretations are in practice seldom so extensive as suggested above. On many occasions it is enough at the time to call attention to the actual re-staging of phantasy in analysis, without any endeavour to link this up in the general way I have suggested. At the same time it is well to remember that a transference-interpretation of phantasy is incomplete, and that as a general rule our next transference-interpretation will be concerned with transference-indications of defence.

We may now attempt to tabulate the kind of information we expect to get from the transference-neurosis and generally the use we seek to make of that information. First of all we amass numerous *fragments* of information about infantile development and modes of thought, and we note numerous *minor* reactions which may not have been directly or only in part ventilated in association. Typical examples are the reactions to minor details in the analytic situation, noises heard, particular objects in the room, isolated reactions alleged to have been exhibited by the analyst. A slight rattling noise made by me annoys a patient, but reminds him that his father, who died when he was young, used to rattle pills, and in his terminal illness suffered from fæcal incontinence. Next come various transference-phenomena of short duration which are evidence of different identifications and relations to parental images in the patient's mind. Generally speaking, then, we collect pieces of information which may fit into a vague outline of the patient's development forming in our mind, and we classify these pieces of information into (1) facts bearing on libido-development, and (2) facts bearing on ego-development. This division is more definite when we consider *protracted movements* in the transference-neurosis. A patient will, for example, work hard to establish a certain situation in analysis ; it may be in some cases essentially a passive homosexual situation or again a situation modelled on the positive

Œdipus relationship. The analytical equivalents of these situations are very numerous ; these patients may act constantly as if they were the sole object of analytic attention, will use their resistances with an eye to provoking counter-resistance, will constantly complain that their analysis is pointless and that the analyst is omitting something important. On the other hand, as soon as any effective interpretation is done, they will round on the analyst with anger and suspicion, fly up in arms to rebut what they take to be a form of criticism and in fact behave as if they were threatened with castration. First, then, we recognize specific situations which are re-enacted over and over again over a prolonged period ; these include all sorts of repetitions modelled on the cardinal variations of the Œdipus relationship changing from complete positive to complete negative, from direct to inverted. Moreover, we find that these are presented in different guises, that there is as it were a polyglot edition of the transference. For example, we have described above a re-enacted genital relationship. But in a constantly recurring set of reactions concerning analytic time, money, waste, etc., we can recognize an edition of the same play rendered in the anal-erotic dialect. Secondly, there are many protracted situations in analysis which provide us with evidence of important identifications. These should throw some light on *ego*-formations, especially on the nature and development of the *ego-ideal.* You will remember that from the ego point of view, the second stage of analysis consisted in exploring the early development of the ego and in estimating which identifications and introjections had played a decisive part in the formation of the ideal. In the transference-neurosis we see the introjections once more projected, and we are able to estimate from the strength and quality of the projected situations the nature of super-ego development.

Now in the case of transference-manifestations which we examine from the *libidinal* point of view in order to learn and reconstruct infantile development, it is not essential to follow too closely the order in which they appear. They can usually be fitted into a general scheme of development, and the main difficulty is to be certain of the *date* of the manifestations, e.g. whether oral phantasies played out in analysis are primary or the result of displacement. In the case of manifestations from which we infer the course of *ego*-development, it is more important to note the order in which different phases of identification occur. As a rule we find that in course of ego-analysis there is a general drift *backwards* which reaches its climax when analysis is nearing its

termination. This view of the process helps us to understand the true defensive significance of the *forward* drift of interest and preoccupation represented by the transference-neurosis. If there were no transference-defences we should probably be able to have an uninterrupted view of the various stages of ego-development, and should observe how as soon as one identification was analysed an earlier one would take its place. The transference movements tend to blur this impression, and if left unanalysed the ultimate effect is as ragged as the rendering of a symphony by a one-man orchestra. But this confusion is not the only difficulty ; on many occasions one set of identifications may be highly charged for defensive purposes. For example, when a patient shows signs of extreme castration-anxiety, the early indications may point quite simply to the fact that the analyst is being identified with the father-images. Shortly afterwards we may have occasion to note that the identification system has changed materially, and that the analyst is being reacted to on the strength of a mother-identification. Now, whilst this is in keeping with the general line of development, it has also a defensive significance. It is true that the mother images are invested with dangerous possibilities, but the curious thing is that during this phase father anxiety largely disappears. Under these circumstances we may be certain that we shall have to return later to work through a considerable reserve of castration anxiety relating to the father.

Before leaving this subject of ego-identifications and their analysis which admittedly represents the most difficult side of analytic work, we may console ourselves with certain legitimate reassurances. In the first place, although our early impressions of the patient's ego, as seen in the transference, are kaleidoscopic, the main phases of identification are not very numerous, and it is possible with experience to sort them out quite quickly, just as it is possible to classify with some ease the multitudinous representatives of an oral, anal or genital phantasy. Again, although the transference certainly blurs our impressions, it is not without its advantages. A projection may be very sharply defined, and its reversal provides us with a very accurate *ad hoc* interpretation. Besides, we are not simply marooned with transference-projections ; the patient will continue to provide us with information from other sources. In general, phantasy elaborations are followed by specific ego-reactions, and sometimes changes in the tone of voice or the use of certain stereotyped critical phrases is a certain hall-mark of the origin of these reactions. Indeed, if we ask the patient to repeat their

last remark in the same tone of voice, they will often spontaneously observe: 'Oh, my mother spoke that way . . .' or '. . . used that phrase'. Lastly, we may recall that in most cases we have not been pitchforked into transference-analysis: although in the earlier phase we interpreted to remove obstacles to association, we continued to gather from slips, parapraxes, etc., increasing information about the main lines of ego-development. From the first our general policy has been the same: to remove obstacles and at the same time to extract information from each difficulty. The transference from first to last operates as a defence, but as time goes on we make more and more use of the information gained. We use this first of all in the hope of increasing the patient's memory-work, or, failing any result, we employ it to reconstruct before the patient forgotten or irrecoverable parts of his development. Transference interpretation has to be used as a lever, and the time to use it is when the analytic superficies shows signs of petrification.

Armed with this policy, we can now return at long last to the hysteric on the couch who is demanding that we should 'do the talking'. From our observations of a 'forward drift', from the drying up of tributary sources of information, we know that it is time then to do some talking, i.e. to give some transference-interpretation. But the first observation we make is that our policy does not seem to work. We suggest at first that this demand for us to do the talking is the conscious representative of an unconscious phantasy concerning ourselves; the patient denies it. Fortified by an additional set of associations which indicates unmistakably the main outline of the phantasy, we go on to sketch out this phantasy as it is represented unconsciously in relation to ourselves, e.g. that it is an infantile sexual phantasy. The repudiation is still more emphatic. In most cases we are content for the moment with this repudiation; it is the unconscious 'Yes'. But we must then observe carefully what happens when the repudiating attitude has died down; we have to note whether any progress is made, whether the associations show any sign of backward drift as opposed to present-day preoccupation; whether the same or similar phantasies appear in dream-life with any additional material, or whether the defensive mechanisms seem more marked. If, as frequently happens, no such signs of progress appear, we may safely conclude that the transference-phantasies are still too highly charged, and should take the first opportunity of ventilating them further. But what constitutes an early opportunity? At first sight the answer

would appear to be simple, viz. when any positive indications, such as slips, or negative indications such as pauses, indicate that the patient is involved in transference-preoccupations. In many cases these occur so frequently that there is no difficulty in finding an opening. But the point I want to make is that *we are under no necessity to wait for such obvious openings*. As I have said, we can always lift the lid of the transference boiler, and the first opportunity is really determined by the conviction which grows on us that the analysis is still being held up. Just as in general we interpret when we feel convinced from the patient's associations that the time is ripe, so in this special case of transference-interpretation we make this when we feel convinced from the patient's associations that some further ventilation is necessary. The time being ripe, the opportunity is immediately present. *The transference-situation is always there.* Further interference is guided by the rules we have given in considering resistance. First of all, are we satisfied that our original interpretation is valid ? If so, we allow time for working through. If not—and it is better in the first instance to go on this assumption—the problem arises : what have we been missing ? Having satisfied ourselves on this point, we expand the transference-interpretation in this direction, checking our results always with the amount of additional historical information gleaned, or the amount of emotional reaction we produce, or the occurrence of transitory symptoms.

At this point I think it will be clear why it is important to divide translation of transference-manifestations into libido-explanations and ego-explanations. It is no use simply making libido-explanations if we neglect the fact that these infantile remainders are repudiated not so much by the conscious ego as by the *unconscious infantile ego*, and that the transference-*resistances* are themselves evidence of the operation of the infantile ego. In short the transference-resistances are an integral part of the transference and have to be translated as such. This explains why, when we first tackle an hysteric with transference-interpretation, our formulated policy does not seem to work. We have not completed our interpretations.

We see then that there is no essential difference between the *aim* of interpretation as a whole and the *aim* of transference-interpretation. All interpretations can be classified in accordance with their aim into (1) interpretations calculated to overcome immediate obstacles, and (2) interpretations leading back to the unconscious roots of the transference-phantasy from both the ego and libido point of view. I think

it is important to have some such rough distinction, and for the following reason : In describing analytic situations, phrases are often used such as ' This evidently meant the mother ' or ' That evidently meant the father ', and, although these are doubtless perfectly correct conclusions, one gets the impression that they are somehow isolated from the context, that interpretations couched in this particular form would mean little or nothing to the patient. Now assuming that someone begins to show in analysis an unmistakable sign of hostility to the mother-image, the immediate use we make of this observation depends on the state of the analysis. If the analysis is for the time being held up, the transference-interpretation can be given for its immediate effect. But suppose the analysis continues, and the reaction persists, it is necessary to extract something further from the situation. We may then cast about in our own minds in order to orientate ourselves concerning this reaction. After all we have a good deal of preconscious material to refer to, presumably a quantity of dream-material, we have various screen-memories noted earlier in the analysis, we have evidence of fixations in or regressions to certain stages of infantile development, we have the symptom picture, transitory formations, movements of libido outside analysis ; in fact we have a mine of information which should help us to ' place ' this mother hostility. So that having demonstrated to the patient the existence of this hostility reaction, our next task is the demonstration of the persistence of an older reaction. In other words, *we are never finished with a transference-interpretation until it is finally brought home to roost. To establish the existence of a transference-phantasy is only half of our work ; it must be detached once more and brought into direct association with infantile life.* But although there is no essential difference in *aim* between transference-interpretation and other types of interpretation, there is some difference in the *effect* produced. In the usual interpretation we supply certain important word-bridges which enable communications to be established more effectively between the unconscious and preconscious systems. A happily placed bridge may sometimes give rise to quite an explosive discharge of affect and (or) some revival of memory, but in many instances work of this kind has no immediate result. Now in transference-interpretation, owing to the element of dramatisation, an effective interpretation is more convincing, in that the patient has come as near as possible to actual experience. But it is most convincing of all where we are able to demonstrate the discrepancy between the affect and the actual triviality

of its occasion. We have never at any time played any of the parts allotted to us by the patient, so that when a phantasy comes to a head we are able to reap some reward from this careful attitude of detachment. This we shall find later is a key position in all discussion of ' active therapy '.

But, as I have indicated, we must not pin our hopes on the invariable success of transference-interpretations. At the beginning of this lecture I said that at no stage were the analyst's convictions put to a more severe test than during the transference-neurosis. I must now substantiate this statement. The best method of doing so is to indicate generally the types of reaction in different neurotic states. In the case of the hysteric transference-reactions will become extremely heated, but owing to the strength of their preoccupations with the immediate environment it is difficult for these patients to recognize the obviously exaggerated nature of their attitudes. When, however, we do succeed in driving a transference-interpretation home, we are rewarded as a rule with some fresh piece of memory-work. The defensive process is, however, immediately renewed, and so we go on throughout a turbulent situation uncovering phantasies, stimulating memory-work, but giving respite every now and then to allow for absorption. In fact, the situation is so dramatic that we are never long in any doubt about the reality of the transference. The main possibilities of error are (1) that we may not recognize the change in analysis early enough ; (2) that we do not appreciate how far the hectic transference is covering hostility phantasies ; (3) that owing to the obvious nature of the phantasies we hurry things too much.

In obsessional types, the problem is somewhat different. We are apt to be misled by the existence of numerous word-bridges ; many ideas normally repressed are with them present in consciousness. As a matter of fact these bridges are in a state of defensive disrepair and have to be put in order, but in any case you can see that we cannot expect the same number of dramatic recoveries in memory-work as we get with the hysteric. Hence it is more essential that the transference-interpretation should be extremely convincing, and should give rise to a relatively greater amount of affective discharge. Moreover, the hostility factor is more important and gives rise to especial difficulty. Owing to the nature of the obsessional disposition and libidinal regression, the aggressive components are of a more primitive order. On the other hand, the super-ego sensitiveness and severity is correspondingly increased, so that negative manifestations as a whole,

and particularly those negative manifestations which have fundamentally an erotic significance, are opposed by reaction-formations. The obsessional plays constantly on muted strings, and the *motif* is spun out in interminable variations. So that apart from the usual tendency to miss early signs of the transference, there is a constant danger of loosening our grip of whatever transference-situation we have uncovered. To a certain extent we are protected against this by the failure in repression of presentations, but this is more than counterbalanced by the patient's ingenious mechanisms for dealing with affect. *I think this explains why after a seemingly model analysis we may suddenly feel that the ground has slipped from under our feet, that we don't quite know where we are or what stage we are in. When this happens we may be certain that we are in the second stage, viz. the transference-neurosis, but that for the moment our conviction about the psychic reality of transference-manifestations has faltered, that we have been tempted by the attractions of direct interpretation to neglect transference-interpretation.*

When we turn from obsessional neurosis to narcissistic neuroses we have to keep in mind two main factors: (1) that whilst at times the manifestations of positive transference may appear almost hectic, they have a more urgent defensive function. It is more difficult then to bring about in the patient that state of conviction about the nature of transference-phantasy, and it must be absorbed in infinitely smaller doses. Erotomaniac phantasies are of this defensive order and belong, I imagine, to transference paranoias. On the other hand, the aggressive components are more accentuated in these cases and may be evidenced by a long-drawn-out situation of concealed negative transference, varied by occasional explosive outbursts.

But perhaps the best example of all is the alleged normal person who comes to analysis for some emotional maladaptation, and is found to have a personality riddled with minor abnormalities, any of which, if exaggerated, would give a classical neurotic outline to the case. Here we are hampered by all the factors which may appear individually in the analysis of outspoken neurosis. We have some of that deceptive insight and interest into analytic points of view, minor anxiety-formations, obsessional symptoms or perversions, varying tendencies to introjection and projection, occasional explosive affect but more often persistent negative transference, silent and unrelenting, and finally no very urgent drive with which to counteract the discomfort of analytic integration. *Here there is some risk of missing the transference-situation altogether,* and here more than any-

where else is the point of view valid that the transference-neurosis must be *uncovered*, that it does not dance attendance on the analytic rule. It is always present but does not beckon to us, and the patient, having established a successful defence of neutrality and so cloaked the degree of his ambivalence, will certainly not abandon this defence by allowing any emotional reactions to come into the analytic situation. It is with cases of this type that we feel most inclined to doubt the validity of dividing analysis into stages and feel sceptical about the existence of transference-neurosis or of terminal stages. But the fact is that we are then in the thick of an undigested second stage. Perhaps I might suggest here the order in which we may profitably study or select case-material. We do well to study first of all the hysteric, to follow on with the obsessional, but as a prelude to further effort with narcissistic neuroses to sandwich in at this point an alleged normal.

Consideration of the transference-reactions of alleged normal individuals encourages me to make a final reference to the question of *policy* in transference-interpretation. Some analysts have a rough rule that, in the case of dream-symbolism and transference-interpretation, they delay making a direct interpretation until the patient has arrived spontaneously at the meaning of some one symbol or some one transference-reaction. Thereafter they are prepared to make direct interpretations of symbols and transferences at any time they consider appropriate, a method which, of course, appeals to the intellectual side of the patient's attitude. But apart from the fact that we do not embark on analysis in order to proselytise, and that we tend to pay for intellectual conviction by emotional refractoriness, the experience gained from ' normal ' types shows us that some patients will never see any unconscious derivations unassisted, whilst others, who do recognize them at once, are in no better case until their affective inhibitions have been removed. Hence there can be no harm in repeating that what determines the moment for transference-interpretation is the slowing of movement or decrease of fluidity in the analytic situation.

Obviously it is impossible to do the subject of transference-neurosis justice in one lecture. I will, therefore, conclude by recapitulating the main points I have endeavoured to illustrate on this occasion, viz. :—

1. That owing to the superficial resemblance between general indications of transference as seen in the earlier stages of analysis

and the transference-neurosis proper, the latter is apt to be overlooked when it first begins to expand.

2. That from the time the transference-neurosis commences all analytic manifestations relate to it.

3. That if we do not see it openly manifested on the analytic superficies we must take steps to uncover it. In so doing we are guided by the general rules of interpretation as follows :—

(*a*) That we interpret to remove obstacles to progress.

(*b*) That we interpret to reconstruct the infantile development of the individual culminating in the Œdipus situation.

(*c*) That this involves analysis of the infantile ego as well as recapitulation of infantile libidinal relations (transference-resistances represent the infantile ego in full function).

(*d*) That with a finger on the pulse of resistance we space our interpretations to allow for absorption and ' working through '.

4. That the transference-neurosis has a more or less characteristic course in different disorders, but follows the same outline in all.

5. That in so-called ' normal ' types and ' characterological ' cases the transference tends to slip through our fingers.

6. That whenever this occurs our own convictions tend to be shaken.

7. But that we can always re-establish contact by immediate transference-interpretation of current material.

VI

TERMINAL PHASES

The problem of terminating an analysis illustrates very clearly the fundamental difference between psycho-analysis and all other methods of treatment. It has often been said that even if a physician could avoid the transference-factor in treatment his patients would nevertheless insist on treating themselves by means of transferences. As a matter of fact, every physician, whether he knows it or not, exploits transference methods, and never more wholeheartedly than when he is in a difficulty. But however skilfully he may utilize his patient's emotional reactions, he is under no obligation to dissolve these transferences. The psycho-analyst's lot is a harder one : he must utilize, uncover and finally dissolve the patient's transference. His cures are therefore the more striking that he has no other ultimate premium to

indicate than can be wrested by the patient through more effective adaptation.

Whilst the general practitioner has much to learn from the psycho-analyst concerning the handling of his cases, there is one particular in which the psycho-analyst would do well to study the practitioner's point of view, viz. his attitude to intractable but not necessarily incurable cases. Although transference-factors play an important part in the treatment of acute and sub-acute organic disease, their existence is seldom recognized: it is mainly in the treatment of chronic ailments that the patient's 'gain' mechanisms and negative transferences, or the physician's counter-resistances, are likely to play an obvious part. But even when emotional reactions begin to operate quite obviously, it seldom occurs to the physician to consider whether or not his patient should be cured within a certain time or to search his conscience if there is any delay in recovery. He calmly lays the onus on the patient and proceeds unruffled with the daily visit. When negative therapeutic reactions can no longer be denied and some change in policy becomes imperative, the physician does not abandon transference technique; he sends a refractory case for a 'change', which is after all merely experimenting with an altered set of transferences. In short, the stability and success of a physician's private practice depends very largely on the maintenance of durable transference-relations between himself and his clientele of 'chronics'. So when elderly ladies seek refuge from life in alimentary troubles or develop any of the numerous disorders which go by the name of auto-intoxication sequelæ, or lift the lid of the Pandora box of pelvic disorder; when elderly men extract secondary gain from intractable conditions of the various mucous membranes, from the naso-pharynx to the urethra; when the fibroid type of tubercle becomes a relatively healthy invalid; in fact, when the bulk of a general practitioner's chronic list have ensconced themselves in an atmosphere of valetudinarian privilege and dug themselves securely into domestic or social safety, the family doctor is not a whit disturbed but continues to dose out the transference in 6-oz. bottles, or vaccine ampoules or pluriglandular extracts. In other words, *he never dissolves the transference.*

As we have said before, the psycho-analyst in relation to his treatment tends to suffer from a sharpened conscience. He is not satisfied with that alleviation of symptoms which often fundamentally represents a stale-mate in true recovery of powers of adaptation; he

tends to become uneasy over what he considers undue prolongation of the processes of cure and to blame his technique when a patient refuses to abandon the gain through illness or, as Freud has put it, to melt down his neurotic defences in the heat of the transference. The possibility of technical miscarriages cannot be neglected, and we shall have occasion to refer to these later. In the meanwhile we may consider two groups of factors which help to bring about this attitude on the part of the analyst. The first group is mainly external in origin, and is chiefly concerned with the selection of cases. To begin with, it is well known that the analyst has to cut his teeth on the most difficult and intractable cases in the medical calendar. Unfortunate patients who have revolted against the psychological inadequacies of the general clinical outlook usually run the gauntlet of all sorts of treatment by camouflaged transference-methods before they arrive, sceptical and dejected, on the analyst's doorstep. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that, up to the present, legitimate analytic case-material is largely ambushed by the wayside. Moreover, the application of analytic methods now covers a much wider field than formerly, including, as well as the transference-neuroses, many narcissistic neuroses, all sorts of emotional maladaptations, character peculiarities, and so forth. This brings us immediately to the second group of factors, which are mainly internal in origin. Accustomed to watch the development of psycho-analytic theory and technique as applicable to the transference-neuroses proper, the analyst has tended to look for the same phenomena in the analysis of his other cases. It is the old problem of rigidity in outlook, of assuming that because the method of analysis is the same in all cases, the course of treatment, or in other words the patient's reaction, will follow the classical outline. Whoever handles a psycho-analytical practice in this anticipation is doomed to a good deal of disappointment and self-questioning. Apart from this, we may recall two of the mechanisms suggested in a previous lecture: first, the tendency of the analyst to identify himself with his patient and with his patient's pocket, and second, the unconscious reaction of impatience to any thwarting of his therapeutic intention.

I have advanced these preliminary considerations in some detail because in my experience the problem of how and when to terminate an analysis is one which exercises the imagination of many analytical practitioners. It is, moreover, a problem which has become more acute since the introduction of some devices of 'active therapy', intended to shorten the course of treatment in certain instances. The

existence of active therapeutic technique is in itself an indication of anxiety on the analyst's part concerning the protracted nature of analytic treatment, and we must leave until later any consideration of whether this anxiety is of an entirely 'real' nature or whether it is stimulated in part by unconscious reactions. In the meantime we may reassure ourselves somewhat by the reminder that prolonged treatment with incalculable social and economic consequences is a state of affairs which the general practitioner treats with the calm born of great familiarity.

Turning now from the question of attitude on the part of the analyst to consider the actual clinical material, the first observation we have to make helps us to realize why the terminal stage of analysis is a matter for so much preoccupation. The fact is that owing to various circumstances, both internal and external, e.g. internal resistances, economic factors, the nature of the patient's emotional milieu, intercurrent or permanent organic illness and so forth, the opportunities of watching a classical analysis to its legitimate termination are, at any rate at the beginning of analytic practice, less frequent than is generally supposed. *What is often regarded by the analyst as a perplexing terminal stage is often nothing more or less than a normal case in a stage of protracted working through, that is to say, a case in which the terminal phase has not yet been reached but where the analyst will shortly be faced with the decision as to the advisability of initiating the terminal phase.*

I should not like to give the impression, however, that in all cases where for some reason or other a full analysis is not possible, the ending of analysis is of an abrupt nature, that it simply stops short without presenting any of the characteristics of a normal terminal phase. On the contrary, in all cases except those where by force of external circumstances the analysis is discontinued without notice, we discover the same resistances, the same regressional movements and the same attempt to take flight from reality, to retreat from newly won positions, which we shall shortly have to describe. Indeed, it would appear that there are exceptions to the rule I have already hinted at, viz. that the termination of analysis, like its initiation, is a step which must be taken by the analyst himself to the best of his judgement. One meets with cases where, in spite of a somewhat limited term being available, the pressure of circumstances appealing mostly to the necessities of the ego permit the completion of an analysis which, from the point of view of symptom-alleviation, may

be regarded as effective. And here, although no intervention is made by the physician, the last few months are found to exhibit the customary terminal characteristics.

Indeed, I do not think we could do better than approach the problem of the classical termination by considering what happens in those analyses which terminate for some extraneous reason. One of the most severe cases I ever treated, a drug addict with slight paranoidal trends and a number of distressing anxiety-symptoms, made a slow but almost uninterrupted recovery up to a point. His anxiety-symptoms had practically disappeared, his attitude to men was changed, his drug habit had after fractional deprivation been brought to the final absolute privation undertaken voluntarily; from being incapable of sustained business effort, he had applied himself to the extent of making a small fortune; all the prospects in fact seemed of the rosiest when at the critical moment he was discovered to have a sub-acute form of diabetes. This not only interrupted the actual analysis for various intervals but, as far as I can see, brought the whole curative process to a standstill. Death actually stared him in the face: here was something which justified the anxieties pertaining to his unresolved castration elements. The economic bargain he struck was then something like this: he endeavoured to reanimate the old anxiety-symptoms, but was unable to do so satisfactorily, partly because of the previous process of resolution, and partly because he had a better card up his sleeve. As can be understood, his paranoidal tendencies returned to some extent; they had not been subjected to the final analysis after drug deprivation. Most illuminating was the regressive change in his phantasy-preoccupations and in the nature of his transference, which in so far as it represented object-relations, took on an increasingly infantile colour. Some of these regressions were once more amenable to analysis but, as his homosexual defences to the positive Œdipus situation had not been completely worked through, he could neither regress completely to the mother-son position nor permit himself to exploit the homosexual element in the transference. So he checkmated further approach by regressing to an earlier form of drug addiction, using the hypodermic method instead of taking the drug by mouth and employing quantities which, although not so large as his pre-analytic habit, were greater than before the deprivation. This was to a certain extent overcome by continued analysis, but an exacerbation of organic symptoms followed, and the analysis was broken off at this point.

Another less eventful case may serve to illustrate what frequently occurs in analytic practice. A male with manifest passive homosexual tendencies came to analysis because of certain difficulties in his love-relations. As was to be expected, the conflict was quickly transferred to the analytic situation where amenability and submissiveness cloaked intense hostility-reactions. In course of time his castration-anxiety lessened sufficiently to permit of heterosexual relations of a fairly satisfactory kind. Now the point of immediate interest was that his analysis had to be limited by external necessities to the period of one year, and at first it seemed likely that apart from any symptomatic improvement he would continue the fundamental conflict at the transference level, that he would as it were see the thing through without loss. In fact the recovery of memories was practically limited to the first half of analysis and the main work was of a reconstructive nature. Towards the end of nine months it was possible to bring about some conviction about the significance of his transference-struggle, but even then it seemed that this would be continued without further resolution up to the last moment. This was partly the outcome, but nevertheless during the last three months typical terminal reactions were shown. Regressive homosexual images and interests returned, accompanied by an increase in masturbatory desires and phantasies. This was an attempt to cancel out what new adaptations had been made, but again the main regressive activities were shown at the transference level. He tried hard to get me to make various suggestions regarding his future mode and conduct of life, the result of which would have been not only to defend himself against further adaptation, but to keep him in a passive relationship to myself. He also played with the idea of continuing his analysis; in short, he unconsciously laid plans and made dispositions for safety, and the analysis during the last three months, though superficially unaltered, was dynamically quite changed. The same interpretative work continued at the transference level, i.e. persistent reconstruction; but concurrently the change in libido-dispositions, regression, etc., had to be made clear up to the last day.

A third example from everyday practice. A passive homosexual man with anxiety-symptoms and beating-phantasies came for a limited period on account of emotional upset and lack of working capacity. He quickly regretted the precipitancy of his decision to be analysed and, after preliminary improvement, including freedom from partial impotence, he endeavoured to divert the current of his libido into

extra-analytical channels. Headed off from this, he accentuated his transference-manifestations in the negative direction, and took advantage of the limited time available to lay plans for the future. Whilst amenable to any suggestion of delay in decision, he, like other patients, made dispositions for future safety. His ultimate decision was not affected, and after observing a suggested period of post-analytic delay he married a love-object who seemed to offer a compromise between his homosexual and heterosexual requirements.

My object in bringing forward these examples is to indicate that *even in so-called incomplete cases the end of analysis has more or less characteristic movements.* These are mainly of a regressional order, and involve the whole of the analytic material, symptoms, dreams, phantasies, transferences and extra-analytical preoccupations and activities. On the whole, they are most easily detected in the transference and in extra-analytical plans and activities. The degree of distribution in the latter case depends on the extent to which the infantile neurosis has been brought into analysis. If in spite of the limited period available the infantile neurosis has been largely uncovered, regressional movements will be exhibited mostly in transference manifestations. If for some reason or another the transference situation has never been fully charged up or expanded in analysis, the final movements will tend to involve reality to a relatively greater extent, e.g. the patient will openly toy with ideas of marriage, or with various changes in the libidinal *milieu* to be put into effect when he has ' regained freedom '. An interesting compromise is shewn where in the available time the transference has been expanded and already partly analysed ; phantasy will then be found to turn to the prospects of renewing analysis at some future date. In short, our experience with cases which pass through the initial difficulties of analysis but are later on discontinued for some external reason or prearrangement goes to show that characteristic terminal movements exist and that we are justified in mapping out roughly a terminal phase ; and, moreover, as was suggested above, that many cases are brought to a termination prematurely owing to a protracted second phase. This is especially true of patients whose transference-neurosis has been slighted in favour of direct historical reconstruction.

Now in the discussion of the transference-neurosis we limited ourselves for practical reasons to a clinical review of the situation and its analytic handling. Nevertheless, it is impossible to get the terminal phase into proper perspective without some additional reference to

the dynamics of transference. I have other reasons for taking this course ; in the discussion of resistance we were forced to regard the transference as a specialized ego-resistance calculated to limit memory, and, although in discussing the transference-neurosis we modified this to the extent that transference-phenomena also represent material which cannot otherwise be remembered, the impression may have been created that transference is, more or less, a defensive phenomenon. Any such view would be out of keeping with the facts. For one reason we know that, whilst the transference-neurosis is a situation produced artificially in analysis, the phenomena of transference are to be observed in all human relationships. Even without specific analytical observations, we could say from study of general transference-relationships that these must be connected with the compulsion to repeat. We see, for instance, how situations are repeated which are governed by some earlier principle than the pleasure-principle ; how, for example, a traumatic situation is repeated over and over and is only secondarily modified to satisfy the pleasure-principle. A similar tendency has been remarked on in the case of id-resistances, where a set of analytic presentations continues to arise for some time after the ego-resistances to these presentations have been reduced.

Now the specific factors in the analytic situation which modify the phenomena of transference into a transference-neurosis are twofold. First of all, the analytic situation itself is especially favourable to the development of an infantile attitude ; the patient has in one direction all the security and protection of the analytic room, complete lien on the attention of another human being, whilst the censorious parental factor is eliminated. Again, the early interpretative work, loosening of defences against repressed presentations, has set free a varying amount of libidinal cathexis, which immediately seeks to bind itself in ideas having reference to the analyst. But we must remember that in the neurotic patient we have already an abnormal intensity of charge. Why ? Because owing to some element of libido-privation, libido has already regressively reanimated unconscious phantasy ; it has attached itself to different levels of phantasy in accordance with specific fixation, and the outbreak of the neurosis was already a sign that ordinary repression (defence) was inadequate to deal with this hyper-cathexis. So the more effectively we interpret, the greater the charge we attach to ourselves. If we release more than a certain amount, we find all sorts of transitory symptoms appearing to deal with the surplus, and when we analyse these transitory symptoms we find behind them a

transference-phantasy. A patient with digestive disturbances will develop slight exacerbations, e.g. nausea, but you will find that these exacerbations are connected with some increase in phantasy relating to the transference.

At this point we may begin to tackle one of the questions which usually gives rise to difficulty regarding the terminal phase : *how is one to know that the time is ripe for termination, what indications exist by which one can settle one's policy ?*

At the beginning of this lecture I suggested that the terminal phase of analysis distinguishes analytic method from all other methods of treatment, on the general grounds that the analyst does what no other therapist attempts, namely, dissolves the transference. We have now an opportunity of showing that *in arriving at a decision as to the advisability of terminating an analysis, he is guided by criteria which are more broadly based than those of the general clinician.* When a general practitioner treats a woman suffering from neuritis which he regards as of toxic origin, he is usually satisfied if the neuritis disappears. A more exacting colleague would probably postpone satisfaction till he was content with the state of the teeth, etc., etc., i.e. with alleged sources of toxæmia. A subsequent amenorrhœa would probably be treated on its organic merits as a distinct ailment, but if later on the lady sought for divorce it would not occur to the physicians concerned that they had been guilty of gross professional negligence. Yet this possible sequence (i.e. neuritis, amenorrhœa, divorce) could have been predicted with ease by any diagnostician who could relate anxiety-neurosis and hysteria to impotence on the part of the husband. We need not pursue this matter further : the illustration will serve to show that *the criteria for terminating analysis cannot be limited to symptomatic considerations.* Nevertheless, hospital traditions die hard, and it may be well to consider here and now what part the symptom-picture plays in arriving at a decision.

Now by the time we begin to canvass possibilities of terminating analysis, we have already gathered a fair amount of information about the symptom-picture. We know, for example, that in the first impetus of analysis quite marked improvement in the symptoms may occur. Again, as we have shown to-night, towards the end of the analysis, old symptoms may be revived. Moreover, during the transference-neurosis we are accustomed to see every variety of exacerbation of original symptoms, many fresh formations, and innumerable transitory formations. Each of these changes has to be valued in accordance

with the analytic situation at the time, and compared with other observations to which we will refer later. However, we might mention here some quite striking observations which can be made in certain analyses. In the analysis of depressive cases, we are glad to note the occurrence of obsessional symptoms, in obsessional cases we welcome the appearance of anxiety-attacks or conversion symptoms ; in hysteria we are pleased to observe that a seemingly uninhibited psychosexual life has been temporarily obstructed by varying degrees of impotence or frigidity. In perversions, criminal and character cases we may find that either obsessional or anxiety symptoms appear. À propos we must pay particular attention to any regressive symptoms, and in the case of mild disturbances akin to some psychotic mechanism, consider how far we shall be able to cope with them. Attitudes of suspicion, sensitiveness to observation, transference-reactions of delusional strength, hallucinatory types of association have all to be valued up in this connection. But to come back to the assessment of symptoms in relation to the termination of analyses. First of all, we have our own estimate of the symptom-picture as it has been presented to us during consultation or as it has unfolded itself during the first phase of analysis. I take it that we have already drawn some legitimate deductions about the depth of fixations and the extent of regressions which have soon after been checked by observation of analytic material. So that we are in a position to value whatever changes in that picture occur during analysis. We have kept a rough tally of the incidence of transitory symptoms, their frequency, intensity or specific quality ; moreover, in the later part of the transference-neurosis, i.e. when we have been satisfied that the transference-neurosis shows no very obvious gap in transference-dramatization, we have kept a sharp outlook for *signs of affective drainage of symptoms*. You will recall that what is true of analytic technique in general is also true in reference to symptoms, viz. that the most important indications are by no means the most obvious. In fact, we often wake up to find that only the husk of symptom-formation is before us. But, as I have said, we do not depend on this symptom-assessment alone ; in fact if we went by that sole indication we should often find that the patient could snatch success from our hands, and in any case, we must be prepared for reactivation of symptoms in the final regression. But the point of view I have presented is typical of the *method* whereby we can arrive at some conclusion about the termination.

Before leaving the subject for the moment, I must draw your

attention to the fact that I have omitted one most important consideration, viz. the methods by which we may legitimately test the strength of symptom-formations and incidentally forward the purposes of analysis. I have omitted to say anything about the imposition of abstinence rules or symptom tests. This subject will engage our attention throughout the next lecture ; in the meantime I will merely indicate that these comprise (1) general dispositions to prevent libido-leakage, and (2) measures whereby phobia cases at certain points are induced to face anxiety. I am not concerned here with principles, but I think you will see that the most favourable moments for applying the first set is when the transference-neurosis threatens to be drained by external leakage, and the best time for the second is when we have reason to believe that the symptom is becoming something of a husk, or more accurately a red herring.

Before proceeding further it will be well to review our position. We started from the assumption of a terminal phase, described some characteristic features of this stage, hinted that its initiation lay within the discretion of the analyst, and committed ourselves to furnishing criteria with the help of which we could arrive at the decision to initiate termination. We have shown that the usual symptom-standards are especially inadequate in psycho-analytic treatment, where symptoms are not merely measures of ill-health, but pawns in the game of autoplastic adaptation to instinctual demands (e.g. adaptation through illness). We have nevertheless investigated the symptom-factor in order to illustrate the method of appraising terminal criteria, and have hinted that in any case it may be necessary to apply some symptom-tests, on the grounds that the symptom-barometer gives a false reading until the glass is tapped. We are therefore left with the conclusion that symptom-assessment is merely one confirmatory measure among many possible. What then is the true analytic criterion ?

At this point we must return once more to the transference-neurosis. As you will remember, in the last lecture I pointed out that we had to deal with transference-manifestations from two points of view : (1) in so far as they enabled us to reconstruct infantile *libido*-development, and (2) in so far as they enabled us by means of transference-resistances to analyse the *infantile ego's* original fears, i.e. objections to these infantile tendencies. Now we have seen that the essence of the transference is an infantile relationship in which the analyst is identified in a composite way with the parental imagos ; in

fact we are reproducing a situation which existed before the patient dealt with his Œdipus situation by introjecting these imagos in the decisive mould of the super-ego. This fact, together with the tendency to recapitulation fostered by free association, makes it easy for the patient to regress to a ' pre-ideal ' state ; in other words, the identification of the analyst with the parent permits a regression in which the analyst is identified with the patient's super-ego. From the analyst's point of view this is in some ways a good move. The analyst is in important respects, such as absence of criticism, etc., a different person from the parent ; hence this identification permits of some modification of the patient's super-ego—of a fresh introjection which no longer says ' Thou shalt ' or ' Thou shalt not ', but *implies* the new adaptation attitude : ' Know your impulses and your environmental possibilities of gratification '. On the other hand, the patient's identification of the analyst with his super-ego is from the defensive point of view an even better move, one which provides the greatest difficulty for the analyst. By means of this identification the patient is able to turn on the analyst with all the hostility he once felt towards his own parents ; he criticises them (through the analyst) directly for their shortcomings, and in so doing disguises the fact that he is at the same time projecting on to the analyst criticism of his *own* shortcomings (i.e. playing super-ego himself and treating his own ego like an Aunt Sally, in the person of the analyst). Thus he is actually dramatising a regression ; the analyst is for him no longer a neutral object, but part of himself ; he has for the time being defeated analysis by narcissistic regression. In so far as he treats the analyst as an object, he says, ' Love me—give me what I want ' ; by the regression he implies ' Oh, very well—then I'll do it, myself, through you '. Now the hypnotist gains considerable therapeutic advantage by giving in to the demands of his patient ; he says in effect, ' I'll always love you if you get better ', whilst the patient says ' Good ' ; but he compensates himself for that abandonment of repressed allo-erotic impulses necessary for getting better by the regression to narcissistic relations. He treats the hypnotist not as an object, but as his super-ego. This is the hypnotic pact. The analyst, however, can make no such bargain ; he can neither gratify his patient's love demands nor can he permit the patient to turn the tables on him by a permanent narcissistic regression. If he took the former course, even if only by way of abandoning interpretation in favour of advice, his patient's improvement would, in so far as it was not due to earlier interpretation, depend on the frequent renewing of

personal relations ; if he permitted regression to be established, the analysis would be broken off more likely than not in a negative phase of feeling.

We have at last come to the crucial test of analytic progress.

It depends on the degree in which we have fulfilled the twofold requirements of transference-analysis, i.e. libido-analysis and ego-analysis. Both of these requirements are difficult to fulfil, especially the analysis of archaic instinctual demands and primitive ego reactions. It is possible that our familiarity with unconscious phantasy products makes us regard these as being easier to handle than ego-formations. It is certainly easy to start direct interpretation of infantile libidinal demands, and we can carry it a stage further at the beginning of the transference-neurosis. But this is not enough : our interpretations must be both deep and exhaustive. Take, for example, infantile sexual theories : we cannot rest until we are reasonably certain that we have *exhausted* these theories and linked them up with the most primitive forms of instinctual expression. Even then our work is only half done ; no analysis is ready for classical termination until ego-analysis is far advanced. The patient must have made the regressive identification already referred to of analyst with super-ego : he must have worked it through and he must, abating his demands on analytic protection, be ready to permit a modified super-ego to function in his own mind. *When the analyst feels that these conditions have been satisfactorily approximated to, he may, judging the tempo of the patient's mental adaptation, indicate that the time is approaching for the termination of analysis.* He is thereby giving warning of the approaching test of his labours, viz. the way in which the patient will stand libido-weaning, and he will not be surprised when even this preliminary hint arouses a storm of resistance, accompanied by regressive images and (or) exacerbation of symptoms. Before leaving this subject to deal with further practical considerations, let me take this opportunity of answering more fully a question frequently propounded, ' What happens if one neglects to analyse the transference adequately ? ' Primarily, of course, it depends on the stage of the patient's fixation and the accentuation of positive or negative elements of the transference. If the negative elements are accentuated it will mean, sooner or later, the permanent rupture of analytic relations : if the positive elements predominate it will mean an analysis ended in the second stage to be followed by exploitation of various devices for maintaining an extra-analytical transference, e.g. correspondence or occasional interviews,

In both instances, be it noted, there may be a considerable amount of permanent improvement in accordance with the amount of really effective libido- and ego-analysis which has been done. The case breaking off in a positive attitude will probably laud the analyst to the skies and send him vicarious sacrifices of new patients ; the case breaking off in a negative phase may be very much better than before, but will return thanks for this amount of permanent improvement by sending cases to other analysts.

Having formulated the crucial test which must be applied before initiating the terminal stage of analysis, we may now return to some immediate practical details. It might be said, for example, that if this is the real test, it is surely advisable to have before us *confirmatory evidence*, in order to prevent any miscarriages of judgement due to impatience or boredom or optimism on the analyst's part. There can be no question that some safeguards are essential, and fortunately the nature of analysis makes it easy to establish these. As has been frequently emphasized, analysis is a dynamic situation charged with instinctual energy, and consequently includes within its scope a wide range of dynamic reactions. Moreover, at all points in analysis we are very chary of proceeding on the strength of a single series of reactions. For example, when we recognize a characteristic theme illustrated in the associative material, we are always on the alert to check this in various ways. We note the usual association signs, slips, pauses, reactions, etc. ; if we have dream material to analyse, we observe this very carefully to see if it tallies with or opposes the conscious drift ; we examine the transference relationship to see what particular personal reactions accompany this drift ; we are interested to hear what sort of current social reactions are being manifested, *in fact, we get into the habit of assembling data from every possible quarter.*

We have already dealt with the penultimate assessment of symptoms and may go on immediately to the subject of *dream*-interpretation. There are many published analytical records in which we can study the importance of dream-observations in relation to analytic progress. I shall therefore confine myself here to two points. First of all, there are certain recurring dreams, any modification of which is often extremely significant. When a patient who all his life has had recurring anxiety-dreams of being chased by several gigantic and terrible bulls, happens to report after a considerable interval that the bulls are now simply ordinary-sized bulls, we are entitled, other evidence being favourable, to conclude that some fundamental improve-

ment has occurred. When an impotent patient with motor-car dreams, in which he cannot drive the car, reports consistently that he can now in dreams engage gears without much difficulty, we may draw a similar conclusion. Again, there are certain dreams which indicate definite crises in the conflict between infantile libido-demands and infantile ego-repudiation, dreams in which thinly veiled Œdipus castration scenes are strikingly represented and which are followed by various indications of altered reaction on the patient's part. These usually occur towards the end of the transference-neurosis after prolonged analytic labour. By way of practice in this later dream-assessment, I would strongly recommend careful study of the relation between dreams and the analytic situation in the first phase of analysis. At this stage we have done little or nothing to disturb the picture by interpretation, and we are often able to follow for a few months the constant reflection of dream situations in analysis and the manipulation of the manifest content of dreams to include analytic reactions. The subject is one which deserves more detailed consideration, but I am compelled to leave it with the general remarks: (1) that we are legitimately influenced by dream-material in considering the stage of analysis, (2) that in difficult second stages we can confirm the existence of transference regressions by reference to dream-material, and (3) that where we are in doubt about the patient's capacity to stand further analysis, i.e. in narcissistic neuroses, the dreams will give us timely hints of approaching difficulty.

It is an easy step from the consideration of dreams to that of *screen-memories*. In the earlier stages of analysis we are given a selection of memories of childhood, some of which begin to assume increasing importance. They are frequently recalled, but as a rule their content does not seem to justify constant recapitulation. I say as a rule, because on occasion we find *traumatic* events acting as screens for earlier experiences and phantasies. The point is, however, that as analysis continues these screen-memories begin to expand and take shape like Japanese flowers in a glass of water. One patient constantly recalls the vague outline of a cupboard and later associates it with a punishment of some sort; still later it transpires that the punishment was for a sexual offence against a younger sister; gradually all the details are expanded, but the cupboard keeps coming back, partly connected with homosexual phantasies, but ultimately as a cover for earlier experiences with an elder sister, behind which again are open incest phantasies. Another patient constantly visualises a couch.

In time this screen-picture expands into a kaleidoscopic image of numerous couches ; some of these can be distinguished and dated as real memories, associated with a network of phantasy, whilst others simply function as shorthand for unconscious phantasy. Each one of these elements has to be examined and interpreted before the couch picture finally decomposes and vanishes like the Cheshire cat. A third patient retains a vivid memory of seeing a pig killed, and in due course a multitude of pig memories have to be disentangled, a process which leads to the discovery of a delusion of having been born a castrated pig, i.e. an intra-uterine incest phantasy. Without going further into this matter, we may formulate the general statement that the presence or absence of unresolved screen-memories is a factor to be considered in fixing terminal policies.

Closely connected with the subject of screen-memories and their elaboration is the *expansion of infantile sexual theories* and their relation to primal scenes. It has already been suggested that an exhaustive survey of infantile sexual theory is essential. But it may be asked : how does one know when a survey is exhaustive ? Theoretically, of course, it is a simple matter to estimate this. Commencing analysts are not slow to observe that, for example, no vestige of anal material has ever made its appearance. With increasing experience less obvious lacunæ can also be detected. But, of course, the real test here, as elsewhere, is the nature of the patient's resistances.

We have now considered the symptom-picture, dream-material, screen-memories and infantile theories, and I will merely indicate some other factors to be considered. Closely associated with the symptom-picture is the nature of whatever *psycho-sexual* activities come under our notice. This is, of course, subject to the same qualification as that applied to symptomatic improvement, viz. that it must be taken in conjunction with other observations. We know that, like symptoms, various psycho-sexual inhibitions can be played off against the analyst at various stages. Less obtrusive, but often more significant, are the *changes in social reactions*, which can often be observed in the analysis and echoes of which are often heard in the reports of external relations with friends, authorities, etc. An alcoholic will come in at first in a shrinking, suspicious and furtive manner, and only gradually will you observe that he is beginning to march in boldly ; or you will learn by accident that he has for the first time in his life been able to take an independent attitude to some authoritative person of the same sex. Incidentally, you would not necessarily conclude in the latter event

that his analysis was approaching its termination. You would expect to find that after this external change, his transference-resistances would increase, e.g. that there would be a recrudescence of furtiveness associated with yourself. But, if you had worked through this transference repetition and reduced the second furtiveness, you would be quite entitled to include this change amongst the legitimate observations having some bearing on the termination of analysis.

To make a long story short, these are a few samples of the safeguards in our possession by which we can correct a too sanguine view of the progress of analysis. Incidentally, they also function as safeguards to prevent our being held up by repetitive phenomena. A case of frigidity may still continue to cry castration at the top of her voice, but if we find that her genital sensations have changed from occasional rending pains to admit sometimes (e.g. during dreams) of pleasurable genital sensations, we are entitled to take a different view of her case from formerly. We shall then watch rather carefully the extent of her reactions at the next menstrual period in order to check this observation. *What I want to emphasize more particularly here is our attitude to the situation as a whole.* During the greater part of analysis we are busy with actual analytic work, but without knowing it *we are mobilizing impressions.* When we decide to recommend analysis to anyone, we consciously mobilize previous impressions and experiences, and when we decide to terminate the analysis we again review the situation on the basis of all previous impressions, plus the immediate impressions formed during the analysis in question.

But, as with the recommendation to commence analysis, we do not commit ourselves about time-factors concerning which we are uncertain. On consultation, when we are in doubt about the suitability of a case, we usually recommend a short probationary period of analytic observation, varying from three to six weeks ; and this attitude of caution is even more essential when terminating analysis. Here one can only give the result of personal experience without in any way laying down technical rules. There are usually two sorts of situation to meet. One is comparatively simple. We suggest at some appropriate time that it will not be necessary to carry on the analysis very much longer. The patient, without going into the matter farther, immediately reacts to this hint, and we have an opportunity in the next few weeks of testing the actual strength of the regression. If at the end of that time we hold to our original opinion, we set a period for termination. If we find cause to change our opinion, we have not

been committed to an arbitrary period. On the other hand, the patient may immediately ask us for actual dates, in which case we can reasonably promise him an actual decision within a given period. In either instance, the patient will at once set to work to prove that he is unable to exist without analysis, but if we have given ourselves a margin for observation, we have time to make a reasonable decision as to the amount of ' playing-up ' manifested. Moreover, in either case we are in a better position than if we set an arbitrary period forthwith.

Having then given our preliminary hint, or suggested the necessity for a decision in the near future as to terminating, the time passes and we are faced with indicating the actual period. How has this period to be determined ? Well, first of all, what do we expect to happen in this terminal phase ? Briefly, we expect to initiate a phase of libido-weaning, a phase during which the ego will have to learn to take over direct control of instinctual life ; we expect that regressive symptoms will present themselves and that the ego will regress to still earlier levels. The threatened analytic separation will reactivate the oldest of all danger situations, separation from the mother, and the ego will go any length it can to cancel out this threat of danger. So we shall expect anxiety-symptoms and phantasies of the intra-uterine type. These symptoms will have to be examined and these regressions reversed before the terminal stage is complete. How long will this process take ? Now the rule here is that there is no rule. We have to depend entirely on our knowledge of the particular patient and his analytic tempo. But we have in fact quite a lot of information on this point. We know how long the initial phase lasted, i.e. from the commencement of analysis up to the time when we were certain that the transference-neurosis had commenced ; we know what period elapsed before the first improvement of symptoms was manifested, how long before the exacerbations of symptoms occurred, how long it took to deal with these exacerbations. We know how long the transference-neurosis lasted, how long it took to produce effective reconstruction, and how long it took to master the regressive phase of super-ego identification. So we really ought to be able to estimate with reasonable accuracy the necessary duration of the terminal phase. The error, if any, is usually on the side of suggesting too short a period, so that it is well not to underestimate but rather to add a margin to our reasonably based expectations. In any case, I should suggest that at the least an interval of three months be allowed, and this mostly for anxiety cases. Certain obsessionals may need at least six

to nine months or over, and a narcissistic neurosis may require a year's foreknowledge that the analysis is definitely going to terminate. If for some reason your confidence should fail you at this point, I can do no more than recommend a study of the duration of some intractable organic disorders. When you have realized the matter-of-fact attitude with which, for example, a tuberculosis officer will embark on a fifth year of tuberculin injections, you will, I have no doubt, come to the conclusion that our estimates are not only modest but probably err on the side of optimism or inadequacy.

It will have occurred to you that up till now the whole of our attention has been turned to the preliminaries of the terminal phase. We have actually spent little or no time discussing the handling of the terminal phase. I trust, however, that in analysing the processes whereby we arrive at a decision we have at the same time indicated what part we shall have to play in the actual phase. We shall continue to apply the usual analytical rules and technique of interpretation, but we shall be on the outlook for different movements within the phase. For example, it is evident from the considerations we have brought forward that whilst the transference-neurosis is for purposes of convenience described as the second phase it is bound to overlap through a considerable portion of the final phase. Indeed, it is obviously impossible to complete the examination of the transference-neurosis until we have applied the touchstone of the terminal decision. In our earlier analysis of the narcissistic regression phase of the transference, we have been actively engaged in preparing the ground for the dissolution of the transference, and we must complete this work within the indicated period. But, as I have suggested, when we announce the termination we do not at first accelerate this process of dissolution ; on the contrary, we bring about an accentuation of the regression, driving the patient back to levels which are not capable of direct recovery. We may see our patients reduced to making inarticulate noises, beating the couch, crimping their toes and making uncoordinated movements. These we shall deal with by transference reconstruction. When this stage has been overcome we shall be on the outlook for plans and dispositions relating to future libido and ego obligations. These too we shall analyze in the same regressional sense, but the final precaution will only be suggested when the actual analysis has reached its termination. Remembering that the process of ego-adaptation will continue its impetus through a varying post-analytic period, we shall at the end of analysis point out the advisability

of continuing to observe voluntarily one of the recommendations we have made to the patient earlier in analysis ; we recommend that he should not embark on important libidinal commitments or unwonted sublimatory drives until the lapse of an optimum interval. How prolonged that interval should be is a matter for the individual judgement, but I would again suggest a minimum period of three months for simpler cases.

On previous occasions I have suggested that whilst stages in analysis are useful concepts they must not be taken too formally. We are now able to say that there are only two occasions when we may act on the hypothesis of stages with relative certainty ; the first is when we arrange for the commencement of analysis, and the second when we decide to initiate the terminal phase. On both of these occasions our own judgement is at stake. It is only in the classical forms of unmixed transference-neurosis that we have any opportunity of observing the more definite outlines of different stages. Even then, particularly with obsessional cases, the amount of overlapping is quite considerable. Hence I do not lay much stress on the practical value of affixing descriptive labels. I do not think it is important whether we call the latter part of analysis ego-education or libido-weaning : for one reason, at all stages of analysis both processes are operative. I do think it is important, however, that we should not aspire to accurate placing of patients in accordance with predetermined stages, but that, with an eye to the plasticity of mental mechanisms, we should at all points in the analysis deal with immediate situations with a mind as free as possible from preconceptions about some ideal course.

(To be concluded.)

THE CLINICAL ASPECT OF THE NEED FOR PUNISHMENT [1]

BY

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Since Freud's work *The Ego and the Id* made profounder investigation of the psychology of the ego possible, this question has become the centre of analytical interest. In particular the psychology of the sense of guilt has claimed special consideration, on account of its outstanding clinical and theoretical importance. Recognition of the importance of the sense of guilt is by no means confined to recent times. Apart from the part played by the conscious sense of guilt in manifestly neurotic forms of disease, Freud's doctrine of repression virtually implied that a sort of guilt-feeling acted as a criterion for the decisions of the repressing faculty ; in his description of the reaction-formations of the obsessional neurotic, in his conception that every symptom complies with the repressing force as well as with the claims of the repressed instinct, the idea of self-punishment was already contained. What is novel is simply our insight into the importance of the *unconscious* elements of feelings of guilt, and of the resultant penalties. We know that this insight formed the starting-point of those of Freud's investigations which revealed the differentiation of the super-ego from the ego, the creation of the former by introjection of the objects of the Œdipus-complex, and the genesis of the sense of guilt from the discrepancy between the super-ego and the ego. According to Freud's latest doctrine of instincts, the Cs and Ucs feelings of guilt owe their distinctive position to the circumstance that they are representatives of the destructive instincts ; and these have lost some of their neutralising, libidinal components as a result of the instinctual defusion that goes on *pari passu* with introjection.

Once more it is only in extreme cases that the clinical significance of this fact becomes evident. Freud has at various times drawn attention to such cases ; long before his latest works he described in ' Those wrecked by Success ' and in ' Criminality from a Sense of Guilt ' two neurotic types of person who become so enraged against themselves that they are driven either to self-destruction or, in order to avoid that, to the destruction of their surroundings. Even if the term

[1] Read before the Ninth International Psycho-Analytical Congress, Homburg, September, 1925.

' need for punishment ' was first used only in his paper ' The Economic Problem of Masochism ', we know that Freud stated long before this that the most powerful resistances arise from a sense of guilt which finds discharge in the sufferings of a neurosis. He has, however, drawn attention to a special case in which the most obstinate resistances of this nature can be successfully dealt with. A footnote in *The Ego and the Id* deals with a ' borrowed ' sense of guilt, and runs as follows [2]: ' One has a special opportunity of influencing it when this Ucs sense of guilt is a " borrowed " one, i.e. when it is the product of an identification with some other person who was once the object of an erotic cathexis. When the sense of guilt has been adopted in this way it is often the sole remaining trace of an abandoned love-relation, and not at all easy to recognise as such. (The likeness between this and what happens in melancholia is unmistakable.) If one can unmask this former object-cathexis behind the Ucs sense of guilt, the therapeutic success is often brilliant, otherwise the outcome of one's efforts is by no means certain.'

Accordingly it is the libidinal element in the sense of guilt with which our therapeutics can deal successfully.[3]

Now in his paper on masochism Freud has contrasted the Cs ' sadism of the super-ego ' with Ucs ' moral masochism ', and has shown its close kinship with ' erotogenic ' and ' feminine ' masochism. Here, therefore, our therapeutic condition is fulfilled. We need only recall what he says about the ' regression from morality to the Œdipus-complex ', in order to understand the effect of this instinctual fusion. Its clinical application is immediately apparent. The masochism of the ego and the sadism of the super-ego certainly form a complemental series; but in practice it is important to discover which of the two trends predominates. Following Freud, in two cases, which it is instructive to compare with one another, I was able to observe in their origin the relationships (resulting from such instinctual fusions) between instinct and the need for punishment, and between

[2] *The Ego and the Id*, p. 72.

[3] In his lectures at the Berlin Psycho-Analytic Institute in 1924, Radó suggested original ambivalence, and instinctual defusions arising at a very early stage and therefore, to all appearances, irreversible, as constituting the limits of susceptibility to analytical treatment. In the face of destructive instinctual components which cannot be erotically bound our therapeutic efforts are as yet powerless.

the super-ego and the id (as well as the attitude taken up by the ego in regard to both). In part they exemplify clinically what has hitherto been only a matter of theory, i.e. they bring to completion our clinical observations,[4] and in part they fill in certain lacunæ that have existed hitherto in our knowledge of this subject.

II

In the case-history of a young patient the manifestations of his acutely conscious sense of guilt played a conspicuous part. When he indulged in the slightest luxury or pleasure he immediately experienced an inner command to be wretched, exhausted and thoroughly ill. He was unable to do any work ; his illness had cost him several years that should have been devoted to study. Among other things that happened to him, a short time before the beginning of the analysis he had been run over by a motor-car and severely injured ; after this, while still in hospital, he felt quite well and was able to write reproachful letters to his parents, against whom he was otherwise never able to utter a single word.

The patient's father is a clergyman in a small town. He belongs to a religious sect that professes a strict moral code, and is narrow and bigoted in his beliefs, although in other respects he is peaceable and easy to get on with. So far as authority is concerned, he is quite subordinate to his wife. She belongs to the same religious body, is a hysteric, and fanatical and temperamental. Her prohibitions to her children concerned not only all that related to sex, but everything that was at all worldly. She beat her children without restraint for trivial misdemeanours, and then forthwith overwhelmed them with excessive demonstrations of affection. There were three other members of the family, all younger than he. He told me of two ' attacks ' of ' nervous cardiac trouble ' which he had had in his twelfth and sixteenth years. In a *pavor nocturnus* which was characterized by hallucinations and phantasies of the end of the world, he cried out for his mother to come to his bedside (his father was unable to quieten him) ; he was unwilling to allow her to leave him, but was suddenly overtaken by the anxious fear that she knew everything, that he was betrayed, that she was laughing at him, and that he would have to confess all his sins to her, although he knew that she was already aware of them. On one occasion he even wrote out a list of his sins—like a confessional certificate. The

[4] Cf. the competent researches of Reik, *Geständniszwang und Strafbedürfnis*, Int. PsA. Verlag, 1925 ; Alexander, ' A Metapsychological Description of the Process of Cure ', INTER. JOURNAL, Vol. VI., 1925 ; and Reich, *Der triebhafte Charakter*, Inter. PsA. Verlag, 1925.

second attack of this kind ended in an illness of several years' duration, in the course of which he was either unable to move at all, or at other times was only able to walk with the aid of crutches, and was for months under medical treatment at a hospital. Both he and his parents, contrary to medical opinion, thought that death was approaching. The occasions of these attacks were easily discoverable. The first took place on the day when his father had confirmed one of his boy friends ; previous to that the patient had eagerly read some books which his mother had prohibited. The second attack occurred when a youth joined his class at school against whom his mother had warned him on account of his conduct with girls, but with whom he had consequently fallen violently in love. As a result of his illness he ceased attendance at school. He felt bound to confess his fondness for this youth to his mother, but believed, nevertheless, that she knew about it without being told. This belief in the omniscience of his parents was transferred afterwards to physicians. Whenever his pulse was being felt it rose to 200, because he was convinced that the physician knew everything and that he was doomed.

We see, therefore, that his attacks were the expression of a sense of guilt that had reference to his sexual curiosity and to infantile sexual practices. There was no reason to question the patient's idea that his curiosity had been aroused by observations of his parents' sexual intercourse made by him in his childhood, and that these observations were not only punished, but even reproduced in his attacks. A series of dreams disclosed the effects of such scenes ; as, for example : *During a tremendous catastrophe a monstrous dog thrust a knife into the earth.—A catastrophic outburst of fire altered the whole face of the world ; his mother then built a very tiny house out of straw.—A monster destroyed the house of his father's superintendent.*—In a similar dream, *he runs away after the catastrophe with two heads, one with hair on it, the other shaved.*

It turned out that the attacks represented, in particular, attempts to defend himself against the identification with his mother that had been acquired in this way, i.e. they were a defence against homosexual tendencies. We are reminded here of a sentence of Freud's : ' In the history of homosexuals one often hears that the change in them took place after the mother had praised another boy and set him up as a model '.

This statement has to undergo a characteristic modification for the case with which we are concerned. The first attack took place after the *father* had *praised* (confirmed) another boy ; while the manifest (though aim-inhibited) homosexuality succeeded in breaking out only after the *mother* had *found fault with* another boy ; the repression and, along with it, the second attack only occurred when the boy with whom he had fallen in love entered the same class at school, and came into very close proximity to him. The patient's compulsion to confess his homosexual love to his

mother corresponded to a convulsive attempt to defend himself against this inclination and to find a heterosexual object once more in his mother. We see now why his father was unable to quieten him.

Let us now return to our investigation of the sense of guilt. Even when he was shouting furiously in unconcealed resistance to his conscientious compulsions, ' Why should I always torment myself, why must I thrash myself, why, why ? ' yet he had first of all to beat himself in the most violent fashion with clenched fist on forehead and breast. He even thought of killing himself in order to deliver himself from his pangs of conscience, i.e. going to the furthest limit of acquiescence in his conflict with his super-ego. He was himself aware that the palpitation he felt during the attack was an inner self-scourging, indeed, an attempted suicide. The attack which was based on the earlier reaction of the childish observer to overhearing sexual intercourse between his parents thus included, in addition to an aggressive impulse against his parents (hindrance of their *current* intercourse), an aggressive element against his own ego. The connection between deed and punishment turned out, however, to be very much more close and complicated still.

The patient developed the phantasy of being at home and pretending to be insane, either by storming and smashing everything up—then he would not need to be ill any longer ; or by lying quietly, not replying to anything and getting taken to an asylum—in this way, too, he would evade his illness. These phantasied outbreaks of insanity, as he saw himself, were the equivalents of his attacks, and, in particular, of the ' compulsion to confess ' which accompanied them. He said quite definitely : ' If I had smashed up everything, I shouldn't have had to confess anything '. The compulsion to confess, the imagined simulation of insanity, and the real illness are thus psychological equivalents. Accordingly, we are able to agree with Reik in regarding a confession as a weakened action which at the same time has to give satisfaction to the claims of the repressing forces, i.e. which has to be a punishment.[5] The original repressed instinctual trends could also break through relatively undisguised into consciousness, if only provision had been made for a preceding self-punishment. If his mother were to rebuke him again, he intended to hurl her to the ground, violate her, and then shout to her, ' You see now what your crazy upbringing has led to ! ' He invented a whole series of complicated schemes by which

[5] Reik, *Geständniszwang und Strafbedürfniss*, p. 213.

he might at the same time injure both his mother and himself, e.g. he broke a large mirror belonging to his mother and cut himself with it. He failed at the school inspection in order to cast blame both on himself and his teacher.

The patient's conduct in regard to onanism showed a remarkable condensation of sin and punishment. He had been conscious of (heterosexual) onanism in his early childhood. At puberty a peculiar form of inhibition of masturbation had set in, conditioned by the accompanying homosexual phantasies. At the date of the analysis he had in the main substituted for masturbation gymnastic and athletic activities which, although they were entirely ego-syntonic, were still affected by the full strength of the prohibition against masturbation. Contrary to his conscious will, he felt that he ought not to do gymnastics; they would make him healthy, whereas he ought to be ill. When he experienced the need for punishment after gymnastics, he had to masturbate without enjoyment until he felt quite ill. In this way what had been forbidden was reproduced afresh in the punishment in a far less disguised form than it had assumed in the act that merited punishment.[6] The special vehemence of this compulsive masturbation confirms Reik's idea that *forced* instinctual satisfactions arise from the need for punishment.[7]

Frequently, however, the patient broke off masturbation before ejaculation. He did this consciously to exacerbate his punishment; the analysis shewed that this stood for a latent safeguard against punishment, since the ejaculation was regarded by his unconscious as castration. If on occasion he carried the masturbation as far as ejaculation, he afterwards swallowed his own emission. This was, in the first place, a simultaneous satisfaction of his bisexual trends, which sprang from his twofold identification with the parents whom he had overheard in the sexual act; he had actually dreamed that he ran away from the 'catastrophe' with two heads, one with hair, i.e. feminine, and the other shaven, i.e. masculine. But it was further an avoidance of castration, since he took back the lost emission into his body, although at the same time it was a repetition of the castration: the swallowing of the emission corresponded to the incorporation of his own penis (oral mother-identification).

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[6] Cf. Groddeck, 'Wunscherfüllungen der irdischen und göttlichen Strafen', *Internat. Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*, Bd. VI., 1920.

[7] Reik, *loc. cit.*, pp. 208, 209.

The castration idea, which here, as so often, meant both a punishment and a feminine instinctual aim, was able at times in spite of deep repression to penetrate into consciousness in a gross and undisguised form; its penal significance was then intended to mask the wish-fulfilment. Thus for some time during his illness he walked on crutches. Occasionally he tied up his testicles with the intention of cutting them off: 'Then I shall at least be freed from these instincts'. The whole significance of the inferiority felt by seven-months children, recently described by Hollós,[8] appeared as a rationalization of the inferiority due to the castration-complex when he once exclaimed: 'I wish I had been a seven-months' child! I am certainly utterly worthless, *but in that case I should at least have known the reason for it!*' In the same way he occasionally recognizes quite consciously the character of his neurosis as a simultaneous satisfaction of instinct and need for punishment; he scourges himself in order to suffer: 'That will deliver me from my illness more quickly than the analysis will!' Just as naïvely he revealed the mechanism of criminality from a sense of guilt: 'I will murder them all, and then at least I shall be put in prison, and shall not need a neurosis any longer'.[9]

The conception that punishment also entails a license for the acts that follow it found confirmation in the relatively violent instinctual outbreaks that succeeded his self-chastisements without either a sense of guilt or a recognition of his morbidity. Reik has drawn attention to the fact that such outrageous and apparently guilt-free misdeeds, opposed to the patient's whole character but nevertheless permitted by the ego, are 'crimes due to the sense of guilt' (*loc. cit.*, p. 94). Thus the patient seriously made up his mind to violate his sister or his mother (in doing so he was, it is true, also aiming at a denial of deeply-repressed homosexual incest-wishes); he perpetrated exhibitionistic actions without having the least notion that his conduct represented an instinctual gratification, just as he was entirely ignorant of the sexual nature of his self-scourging. He tortured animals and dolls horribly, had nihilistic phantasies, wanted to kill the whole of humanity and destroy the whole world. These sadistic phantasies of his had, however, never been realized on other human beings. They lead us to a very clear comprehension of the manifold relations between

[8] Hollós: 'Die Psychoneurose des Frühgeborenen', *Inter. Zeitschrift*, 1924, Bd. X.

[9] The clear insight the patient had into his psychical mechanisms will not astonish us, having regard to the nature of his symptoms.

his conduct and his self-punishment. His instinct-ridden outbursts were (*a*) the cause of his self-punishment (the act that gave rise to his need for punishment), (*b*) its result (criminality from a sense of guilt), (*c*) its equivalent (repetition of the act in the punishment), and (*d*) an attempt to free himself from it (they did not involve a sense of guilt or recognition of being ill).

The prototype of the patient's sadistic phantasies was his mother, who was so furious when he or any of the other children got into any mischief. The adoption of his mother into the patient's super-ego thus developed its effects in both directions : the mother's corrections were continued on his own person by his self-chastisements, while his sadistic phantasies were evidence of his longing to imitate his mother in his external relationships. At the same time his mother was the object of his aggressive impulses ; he wished to conduct himself with regard to her exactly as she, on her part, had acted towards him. He dreamed that his mother was lying in his lap like a child. This reversal of situations had in its time resulted in a narcissistic, homosexual object-choice. When he reached maturity he assumed a friendly condescending attitude towards his mother, but exhibited from time to time irrational outbreaks of wrath ; he recalled from his childhood's days a similar alternation of conduct on her part.

In the analysis he spoke insultingly of his mother for hours together with terrible vehemence and monotony, described with the utmost indignation her behaviour, her bigotry, her preposterous educational maxims, and had phantasies of either killing or violating her out of revenge. There is no doubt that this over-determined hate against his mother served the purpose of concealing the normal Œdipus-attitude of hate against the weak father, as Boehm has shewn with regard to homosexuals who hate their mother.[10] Nevertheless, it was also very evident that the aggressions against his mother were the equivalents of aggressions against himself. He carried out in actual fact against himself the injury that he then said he wished to do to his mother. The mother whom he hated, who, he believed, demanded from him punishment, illness, death, proved to be a projection of his super-ego. In beating himself mercilessly, while reviling his conscience all the time, he was demonstrating in his own body how he would thrust a knife with delight into his mother's body. It was a kind of projection of his super-ego *backwards* to the place in the external world from

[10] Lecture at the Würzburg Conference, Autumn, 1924.

which it had come—a regressive projection. We recall the fact that Freud has already described in 'Narcissism: an Introduction',[11] this decomposition of the function of conscience and its regressive projection into the external world in the case of paranoiac delusions of observation. The significance of such a projection is of an exquisitely *economic* character. This is immediately intelligible when we remember how Freud explains projection: 'Towards the outer world there is a barrier against stimuli, and the mass of excitations coming up against it will take effect only on a reduced scale; towards what is within no protection against stimuli is possible. . . . There will be a tendency to treat them (such inner excitations as bring with them an overplus of pain) as though they were acting not from within but from without, in order for it to be possible to apply against them the defensive measures of the barrier against stimuli'.[12]

The economic alleviation which projection affords was seen specially clearly in the occasional outcry of the patient, after he had been complaining about his rigorous conscience and had 'resolved' never to punish himself again: 'If any one comes again to demand punishment from me, I will murder him in cold blood!' In his paranoid condition the transference, since it lay in a homosexual situation, furnished him with quite a special opportunity for projection. He had, e.g. a 'paranoid transference dream' of a kind similar to the one Freud once communicated.[13] The analyst had put on a beard like his father in order to force a father-transference on him; occasionally he believed that the analyst had sexual intentions with regard to him.

He also employed purely paranoidal projections for the purpose of self-punishment in his complicated schemes for provoking quarrels with his father and with the analyst: e.g. indirectly through him his father received a document which contained numerous implicit accusations against him; then he exaggerated a really trifling piece of fault-finding on his father's part, stormed at his father's lack of understanding and railed against him for hours at a time. He manœuvred everything in such a way that his father would have to blame him and thus furnish a reason for his insulting him. In this way, by a rationalized projection, he would liberate himself from the compulsion to revile himself. Should the provocation prove ineffectual, should

[11] *Coll. Papers*, Vol. IV.

[12] *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, p. 33.

[13] 'Certain Neurotic Mechanisms in Jealousy, etc.', *Coll. Papers*, Vol. II,

his father not scold him sufficiently, he would thereupon alter reality in the manner of a delusion of persecution. His ' conscience thus encounters him in regressive form as an external, hostile influence '.[14]

In the analysis, when the analyst casually remarked that he ought not to spend twenty minutes in excusing himself for being five minutes late, he declared that the analyst had apparently unconsciously felt that his being late was an aggression directed against him ; the analyst was afraid of it, and in order to divert him from the subject, he had given him so severe a rebuke, and treated him so badly. Thus not only is the aggression which he feels himself transformed into one which the analyst feels, but he suspects, once more delusionally, an aggression on the part of the analyst simply in order to be attacked *from without*. By his persistent lateness and his hour-long, monotonous talk about it, he was fighting, as the analysis proved, not only against his homosexual transference-love, but also against the constant pressure of his own conscience. The sexual element in this paranoid mechanism is evident ; what relates to punishment in it falls into the following scheme : (1) A predominant sense of guilt, (2) A provocation of punishment (criminality from the sense of guilt), (3) When punishment does not take place, a perception of punishment of the nature of a delusion of persecution, (4) Abuse externally directed, representing a projection of the ego as the object of the super-ego's aggression. Freud has characterized the delusion of persecution in the following way : ' I do not love him—indeed, I hate him—he hates (persecutes) me ; '[15] in the case of our patient ' I hate him ' was intended to shout down not only ' I love him ' but ' I hate myself.' According to Reich those parts of the super-ego that have remained isolated from the ego, —i.e. those parts of the super-ego that have not effected any ego-alteration—are particularly well-suited for this regressive projection.[16]

The projection of the patient's conscience went with an excessively aggressive attitude to the casual agents his conscience employed. He wanted, for instance, to have the chauffeur by whom he had let himself be run down arrested, or else to give him a merciless thrashing.

These extensive processes of condensation were facilitated by the actual sadistic behaviour of his mother. Behind his sadistic phan-

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[14] ' Narcissism : an Introduction ', *Coll. Papers*, Vol. IV.

[15] ' Psycho-analytic Notes upon an Autobiographical Account of a Case of Paranoia (Dementia Paranoides) ', *Coll. Papers*, Vol. III.

[16] Reich, *Der triebhafte Charakter*, p. 108.

tasies in which he imitated his mother, he concealed his passive libidinal wishes, and his need for punishment. For several nights during a transitory phase of the transference, he ran the streets looking for a girl. He never managed to get one. It happened every time that some old gentleman, whom he roundly abused, would snatch the girls away from him just when he was on the point of accosting them. In this way he repeated his infantile disillusionment, not only in the sense that his mother preferred his father to him, but also that his father preferred his mother to him. It was this passive homosexual attitude that evoked the sense of guilt and afterwards, in a regressive form, took its place. On seeing an old man urinating he felt that he heard the command : ' Now you must die ! '

The sexualizing of his self-chastisements certainly gave the impression of being secondary in character. The sadism of his super-ego seemed to outweigh the masochism of the ego, just as he had also been conscious of his self-reproaches. Undoubtedly he felt that *death* was the punishment that was really awaiting him ; it was only by chance that the accident with the motor-car passed off so lightly. He had forbidden himself gymnastics because, according to his idea, they were calculated to restore him to health. In a narcissistic game he set a picture of the Apoxyomenos alongside his own reflection, in order to compare himself with it ; there, bodily confronted with one another, stood his actual ego and his ego-ideal, the conflict between which consisted in his illness. He said to himself he did not dare to be as healthy as that ; when this prohibition came to him from without, he felt it only as an alleviation. On that account he could not believe even that the analyst wanted to cure him ; just when he wished to study a symptom it disappeared—what a villain he must be !

We append the following summary : The first thing to be taken into account in the clinical picture was the bisexual predisposition aroused by the primal scene (dream of the two heads). The introjection of his mother had a pathogenic result. This was followed : (1) in the ego, by its becoming the representative of homosexuality, warded off in paranoid fashion ; (2) in the super-ego, by his accepting all his mother's prohibitions, and ratifying them by his self-chastisement. On the other hand, his mother appeared to him in his sadistic phantasies as his ideal. He wished to imitate his mother (stand in the same relation as she to his father).

These conditions are complicated by the fact that we have also to assume analogous processes going on in connection with the father-

identification. Not only do the object-trends compete with the identifications, but the different identifications compete with one another. The sexualizing of punishment appeared to be secondary; it had more essentially the character of an unrelenting aggression of the super-ego than that of an instinctual gratification of the id. A 'borrowed' guilt from the mother was certainly in some degree probable, but it was not corroborated by the analysis.

III

The second case furnishes a more distinct picture of 'moral masochism'. The patient's pangs of conscience were, as such, unconscious, and were manifested in the analysis as passive homosexual gratification. He came under analysis for impotence; but proved to be one of those patients about whom Freud has said: 'We are usually able to make a confident promise of recovery to the psychically impotent, but, as long as we are ignorant of the dynamics of the disturbance, we ought to be more cautious in making this prognosis. An unpleasant surprise awaits us if the analysis discloses the cause of the "purely psychical" impotence to be a typically masochistic attitude', perhaps deeply embedded since infancy'.[17]

At the root of the trouble there lay aggressive tendencies against the father, corresponding to the normal Œdipus-complex. These had led by reaction to a vast general inhibition of aggression, which had then been utilized for the satisfaction of a passive feminine attitude. The adoption of the mother into the ego which thus ensued was—in contrast to the earlier case—opposed by a *paternal* super-ego, to the influence of which one may ascribe the circumstance that the masochism originating in this way took a *moral* form. The identification with the father had miscarried in characteristic fashion, so that the borrowing of the sense of guilt from the father was quite impressive.

It was the trauma of an infantile observation of the maternal genitals that, as Freud has described in his 'Passing of the Œdipus-complex,'[18] activated the boy's castration-anxiety and brought about a great mental revolution. In it he regressed from father- to mother-identification, and simultaneously from the phallic to the sadistic-anal stage. His neurosis could be recognized as a repetition of these early infantile libidinal vicissitudes, since his recent experience contained an

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[17] *Coll. Papers*, Vol. II., p. 193.

[18] *Coll. Papers*, Vol. II.

exactly similar incident : he had been for the first time having sexual relations with a woman (she had seduced him, and was twice his age) ; but the necessity for amputation of a finger had then demonstrated the reality of the danger of castration (just as once before the glimpse of the feminine genitalia had done) and his neurosis broke out with impotence and so-called ' states of depression '. The latter became recognizable afterwards as self-punishments—suffering caused by an overpowering sense of guilt.

From the beginning of the analysis there came clearly into view both the complete Œdipus-complex and the castration-complex. At a deeper level the castration which he feared was desired : since it combined both punishment and the passive feminine attitude, I shall add a few observations regarding it.

The obscurity surrounding the sadistic conception of the sexual act in the patient's mind had led to a condensation of the threatener and the threatened, of the castrator and the castrated. Thus it came about that circumcised Jews, who were despised in the *milieu* in which the patient lived, became dangerously sexual castrators, and women and their genitals became a power which menaced the penis. According to an infantile theory, he imagined that the penis crumbled away in the sexual act and that bits of it remained in the vagina. There could plainly be discerned in the patient's unconscious mind two opposing types of castration : the one masculine, consisting in cutting ; the other feminine, consisting in biting. The latter type made use of a penis hidden within the feminine genitalia as its executive organ.[19] Behind the idea that the mother had robbed the father of his penis, which remained menacingly within her, like a shining jewel or a hidden sword, there lay the earlier one that the vagina was a hollow penis tucked in like a glove-finger. The return of the repressed from beneath repression shewed that the purpose behind this supposition was to obliterate all traces of the possibility of castration which had been demonstrated *ad oculos* by the woman's lack of a penis ; the hollow penis eventually became a secreted penis which had been stolen from the father, and in this way what was originally meant for a denial of castration became a very dangerous castration-instrument.

For a time the patient's impotence took the form of a premature

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[19] Boehm : ' Beiträge zür Psychologie der Homosexualität ', II., *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*, Vol. VIII., 1922.

recession of erection after it had set in promptly. He had the impression that his penis ' withdrew inside him ', became a hollow penis. His impotence thus represented his transformation into a woman. The change of the penis into a hollow penis—indeed the whole idea of a hollow penis—was a prophylactic measure against castration. *Transformation into a woman with an imagined hollow penis was, therefore, a means of avoiding castration.* Thus the form which the impotence took led to the discovery of the mechanism with which the patient sought to protect himself from the menace to his virility, i.e. a secondary mother-identification.

His early sexual observations had left him with a prohibition which influenced all his later sexual activities and was especially directed against his excessive sadistic impulses, which had only been strengthened by regression. Frequent parental quarrels furnished an objective foundation for his rooted sadistic conception of the sexual act. In his phantasies and dreams he repeatedly saw symbols of the maternal and feminine genitals covered with blood. This aggression that was to be inhibited was, however, undoubtedly directed to a far greater degree against his own sex and originally against his father. There was a condensation here of inimical and sadistic impulses. Not only did he occasionally feel, to his extreme horror, murderous impulses against his father, but by mistake he had brought about two shooting accidents in which he had nearly killed his father in reality.

This compensating reactive inhibition dominated the patient's character. He was quiet and reserved, avoiding every kind of action that had in any way the appearance of aggression. Owing to his impotence he shunned all sexual aggressiveness, and had been potent only in the affair in which the woman took the active part. Otherwise he was afraid of his sadistic impulses because he expected castration by the woman as a revenge. He never protected himself against wrong, and allowed himself to be taken advantage of constantly. Even as a child he had always been ' good ' and quiet, and had never been able to refuse any one a request. His slow progress in school and later on in his profession was because, it appeared, he might otherwise have outstripped his contemporaries and thus injured them. His masochism had therefore in typical fashion originated at first in the turning of his sadism against himself, in the transformation of activity into passivity. In this connection his tendency to self-destruction was by no means slight ; the shooting accidents in which his father was nearly killed led, after a turning against himself, to his exposing

himself recklessly in the direct line of enemy fire during the war ; he was utterly unconscious of his own intention in so doing.

This transformation of sadism into masochism coincided with the reversion to the feminine attitude already mentioned. One had the impression that the compulsory inhibition of aggression due to the castration-anxiety had been, so to speak, turned to advantage by the feminine attitude, with the view of extracting the maximum of pleasure from a situation of enforced deprivation. This outlet would not have been possible had a previous object-love for the father not pointed the way to it. And of course the masochistic ' depression ' could also occasionally be used for the sadistic tormenting of other persons.

Analysis of the various repetitions in the transference of this all-important turning against the self shewed that the *moral masochism*, the ceaseless self-punishments and self-restrictions, owed their origin to the same regressive transformation as the scanty feminine masochistic impulses. A single episode may be given as an example of many others similar to it :

While travelling to meet a woman friend he took part in a game of chance with some unknown men met on the train and lost a sum of money which for a man in his circumstances was very large. As a result of this loss he could not pay the analyst his current fee, nor take the intended excursion with his friend. He was surprised that the analyst neither scolded nor punished him on this account ; immediately on reaching the end of his journey he had said to his friend penitently that she ought to beat him. It occurred to him further that during the journey he had felt an urgent need to defæcate, but had not paid any attention to this in the excitement of the game ; it was not until later that he satisfied this need and soiled his fingers in doing so.

There are several points in this material that we are able to observe very clearly : (1) the strata-like structure of the feminine and infantile attitudes in masochism, (2) the eroticizing of the need for punishment, The repetition of the passive, feminine attitude evoked by the analysis leads to self-punishment in the form of loss of money. This loss, however, is at the same time a ' crime due to a sense of guilt ', as well as a sadistic injury of the father (analyst) and the mother (friend), and a repetition of the offence that needed punishment—a passive homosexual act. The punishment which he seeks for this, the request to be beaten, is again a satisfaction of a purely passive sexual trend. (3) The coincidence of regression to the feminine stage with regression

to the anal. (4) The progressive building-up in layers of feminine and moral masochism. *The regression from morality to the Œdipus-complex* is clearly evidenced in the need, following on self-punishment (itself also a crime), to be thrashed in punishment by his father or his mistress. The penalizing super-ego in this case is the surrogate of the actual father, from whom the patient seeks punishment as a form of regressive instinctual satisfaction. This falls into line with the fact that the patient grew more and more insistent in his requests to the analyst for *punishment* or—*hypnosis*. He had heard that Professor Forster was not particularly mild in his treatment of pathological patients, and he wished to go to him to be cured of his impotence. ' He would make a thorough examination of my penis, and then give me a good rating '.

He also displayed unmistakably another unpleasant concomitant of moral masochism : the negative therapeutic reaction. As a result of the interpretation of his self-punishments his self-reproaches became gradually more conscious, and his ' depressions ' approximated more and more to pure melancholia.

The determining mother-identification was established in the ego totally unknown to the patient, who was constantly engaged in the endeavour to imitate his father. In vivid contrast to his supposed ideal, his conduct in life was like his mother's. His exhibitionistic and other instinctual characteristics could be traced to the behaviour of his mother, while his father's abrupt temperament furnished him with the material and occasion for his phantasies.

This mother-identification was rendered possible by :

(1) *An early object-relation to the father*, which was continued in the adoption of the father into his super-ego ; this had a further existence in the borrowed sense of guilt which will be discussed later on.

(2) *An anal erotism of extraordinary strength*, which accompanied the sado-masochistic phantasies and was again regressively cathected at the same time as the genital inhibition of aggression took place. The copious anal symptoms of the patient shewed clear traces of the mother-identification. Even his dread of castration was here regressively transferred to the anal zone. He had the impression that there was something behind in his body that was cut in two. He even realized an anal castration in his childhood by breaking a chamber-pot under him and injuring himself on the seat, and later when he was grown up by undergoing an intestinal operation, of which he formed a similar conception.

(3) *Early visual sexual observations of his parents*, which activated

the bisexual attitude, and found its issue in the sight of the maternal genitalia that had such important results. A whole series of screen-memories and dreams suggested that an observation of this kind should be presumed. His scepticism, too, could be traced to the doubt whether he had seen correctly, whether there could really be anyone without a penis. In this way he often gave expression to the most grotesque doubts regarding psycho-analysis. In a *dejá-vu* kind of reminiscence he recognized that during puberty he had cherished a similar doubt regarding the possibility of sexual intercourse between his parents. Occasionally even at the date of the analysis he expressed manifest scoptophilic desires.

A dream that brought into the transference the traumatic scoptophilic experience and its consequences is given in brief. It consists of two parts, and runs as follows :—

(1) *He has to go to the elementary school and start from the very beginning.* (2) *A little girl is about to undergo an operation on the abdominal cavity or on the mouth. He asks a nurse : ' Is the operation over ? Ah ! has it already begun ? ' She says : ' It is just over ' or perhaps something else ; she expresses herself very obscurely.*

The day's residues : A short time previously the patient's potency had been restored by the treatment ; he took advantage of this by indulging to excess in sexual intercourse with his mistress. The day before it had been said that he might be right in suspecting that this was the cause of his feeling so worn out and ' depressed '. He thereupon made up his mind not to have intercourse again ; but, as a matter of fact, that same evening, in defiance of the supposed prohibition, he had intercourse again.

Associations : *For the first part :* When he was at school he had always to hurry in order not to be too late. Anyone who was late in arriving at school was punished. When he was afraid he would not be in time his father used to give him roses out of their garden to take with him as a present to the teacher, and in that way he escaped being punished. That, however, should not have been allowed. When he was sixteen years old there had been on one occasion a scandal in the school. A youth had done something, he did not know what, to a little girl, and had been soundly thrashed for it. *' To start over again from the very beginning ' :* If he could begin the analysis over again from the start, he would be ' nicer ', would give better associations : i.e. he would bring roses with him for the analyst, so as not to be punished for the coitus of the previous evening.

For the second part : A woman friend of his had had an operation for carcinoma in the tongue. The girl in the dream is her daughter. Something in her mouth was cut open, something that had been closed was opened : i.e. a vagina was formed, she was castrated. He now adds that

in the dream he was perhaps to have been operated on himself. His intention in being there was to observe the operation. As an adult—it was shortly after the amputation of his finger—he had overheard a coitus through the thin walls of an hotel bedroom. At the operation in the dream everything was very obscure—the instruments and the apparatus were mysteriously large. Then he recalled that when he was about fourteen he had set a little girl of two on a chamber-pot, and in so doing he had observed her genitals. Thus he had committed the same transgression as the youth at school, i.e. he replaced his recent misdemeanour in the matter of the coitus by the offence of scoptophilia ; in the memory of the thrashing the youth had received as punishment, and in the repeated assertion that bringing the roses was a wrong action, he was therefore asking to be thrashed ; he identified himself with a girl, and was castrated. Recently, when he had asked how long it would be before the analysis was finished, he had received just as ' obscure ' an answer as he had to the analogous question in the dream.

The coitus which preceded the dream had mobilized his sense of guilt in such a way that he desired the penalizing castration and forthwith sexualized it in a passive feminine attitude (identification with the woman). In doing so, however, he betrayed the fact that he considered his inspection of the feminine genitals to be the all-important guilty act.

In connection with his memories of sexual curiosity, it came to his mind that he had the idea he must infect himself with pathogenic bacteria in order to be ill and be made much of : i.e. a disguised idea of self-destruction, which represented self-punishment for the offence of scoptophilia. This was, however, again sexualized in the passive feminine sense ; the infecting bacteria represented impregnating spermatozoa.

Once more then we will summarize the development of the mother-identification : The patient, warned as to the reality of castration by his observation of the mother's lack of a penis, first regressed from the genital to the sadistic-anal stage of organization. The reinforced sadism then gave way under castration-anxiety into the reaction-formation of inhibited aggression, and turned into masochism ; this united with the newly-cathected anal-erotism and wakened his former love for his father in such a way that a transition from father-identification to mother-identification was the result.

In order to gain a complete understanding of the moral masochism we must now continue to follow the vicissitudes of the older father-identification. Its libido flowed only in part back again to the old object-relation. Part of the father-identification was retained in the super-ego ; in the recognition that the self-punishments were made use of for satisfying homosexual trends there was implied an admission

that the penalizing authority was a surrogate of the father. What further significance, however, was due to the father-identification only became manifest when it came to light with surprising clarity that the sense of guilt was *borrowed* from the father and that this borrowing —quite in the way Freud has described in the passage mentioned before—represented the residue of an old object-love towards him.

A little episode, which occurred after repeated discussion of the conditions that have been already described here, may be mentioned. Heaping bitter reproaches on himself—as he now did frequently—the patient declared that he lived too extravagantly ; he must discipline himself ; he ought, e.g., to sell his scarf-pin. He informed me a week later in reference to this that his mother was complaining in her letters about his father's levity ; for instance, the week before she had told him in a letter that his father had bought himself an expensive scarf-pin.

By his proposal to sell his own scarf-pin the patient was saying to his mother in the sense of the Œdipus-complex : ' Just take me, I am better than father.' But he told her this in a peculiar fashion. The reference to his father's offence had mobilized his own sense of guilt ; he had to atone for his father's sins.

Many details of the patient's behaviour now became intelligible. For instance, he was ashamed when another person got into trouble. He felt that he was responsible himself when acts were censured of a kind for which he was really not at all to blame. The self-reproaches that were now becoming acute in his depression had the same significance as the latent reproaches against the analyst—' the likeness to melancholia ' was ' unmistakable '.

The following facts have to be noticed : The patient had an extraordinary respect for his father, had set up for himself an ideal image of him, though the accounts he occasionally gave of his father's actual behaviour did not at all fit in with this ideal. He was thereupon ashamed of his father, but made light of his feelings, and was patently engaged in endeavouring to close his eyes to the contradictions between the ideal father and the real.

But they continued, nevertheless, to exert their influence—to such an extent, indeed, that *it seemed as if he had committed his father's offences himself, and was being called to account for it by the ideal father.*

For instance, it was remarkable that the patient's sense of guilt —first unconsciously, then consciously—should be aimed so particularly at his sexual life, as if he were a horrible debauchee. He quite

groundlessly reproached himself with infidelity to his mistress and was oppressed after every occasion on which he had been in her company. The suspicion was now put to him that possibly his father had committed the offence of the (imagined) dissipation and infidelity, but it was indignantly thrust aside, although since he had been grown up he had already heard of two girls to whom his father had made sexual approaches. On his return, however, from a short visit to his parents, he related with amazement that he had only then noticed how his father would cast lascivious looks at any woman and frequently made offensive remarks about them ; this had no doubt always been so, only he had never noticed it before. We could only express entire agreement with this supposition. Evidently as a child he had felt that similar behaviour on his father's part was an *infidelity towards his mother*, but had refused to accept the knowledge implied in this observation, and by adopting (' borrowing ') the guilt he turned the reproaches concerning excess and infidelity against himself. The father's infidelity gave him indeed access to his mother, made it possible for him to woo her—as we saw in the case of the scarf-pin—and the Œdipus guilt could also hide itself behind the borrowed sense of guilt that related to the ' infidelity '. This now furnished an explanation of what at first seemed so interesting and paradoxical, i.e. that the sense of guilt which the patient felt in connection with every other sexual action was lacking precisely in connection with that mother-figure with whom he had had happy relations : the sense of guilt borrowed from his father in relation to his *infidelity* of necessity made itself more noticeable in the case of persons unlike his mother than in that of persons like her.

The analysis was also able to discover the prototype—perhaps the original one—for the infidelity of his father ; a sister of his father's had stayed with them for some time and frequent quarrels occurred, the aunt and the father taking sides against the mother. The child had a phantasy that the father had taken the aunt for his wife and forsaken the mother. This grievous accusation he then diverted from the ideal father-imago and turned against himself. Precisely the same took place here as in a case of moral masochism described by Lampl, where the guilt-borrowing took its origin in the father's adultery (in this case actual).[20]

The borrowing of guilt can only be explained by an original impulse

[20] ' A Case of Borrowed Sense of Guilt ', International Journal of Psycho-Analysis, Vol. VII., 1926.

to commit the same sin as the father. As a matter of fact, as a child the patient had tried to make a sexual attack on this aunt but had been repelled.

This wish to imitate the father was frustrated by castration-anxiety. He may not do all that the father does, but he has to take on himself the penalties his father merited. ' Thus the shadow of the object fell on the ego '.[21] The paternal super-ego demands punishment, not only for all the actions of the ego disapproved by it, but also for those of the real father.[22] The adoption of the father into the ego had of course miscarried, but had nevertheless in some degree been effected, though certainly not in a manner approved by the ego. It was a compromise between the struggles of the id (to enjoy the father's sexual freedom) and of the super-ego (not to do the same as the father), and the ego had to suffer from it.

The father-ideal had thus become independent of the actual father. It had to be kept intact at all costs. In this way, however, there accrued very great libidinal gains in the direction of passive homosexuality, which became predominant after the regression : he could now overrate the beloved father without restraint, and the self-punishment which took the place of the original genital wish (to imitate the father) was enjoyed in a regressive fashion as a *passive feminine gratification through the father.*

When we recall that Freud in ' Certain Neurotic Mechanisms in Jealousy, etc. ',[23] has recently described as a powerful motive, urging towards homosexual object-choice, regard for the father or fear of him (the mechanism, namely, of ' withdrawing from rivalry with him '), we can see now that ' guilt-borrowing ' is also such a form of withdrawal. By its means everything is permitted to the actual father ; he is placed beyond criticism ; while the ego with its inhibitions of

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[21] Freud : ' Mourning and Melancholia ', *Coll. Papers*, Vol. IV.

[22] Many traits of the borrowed sense of guilt could be explained by the idea, ' What I do to myself my father should do to himself ', and reminded us in this way of the ' magic gestures ' which Liebermann has described in his ' Monosymptomatischen Neurosen ' (Lecture at the Salzburg Congress, 1924). We mentioned that the *anal* symptoms of our patient were based on the mother-identification. Now he had to defæcate immediately after taking any food. That meant that the mother was not to become pregnant again. He also refused to eat fish, mushrooms or asparagus. His mother, he said, was very fastidious about what she ate.

[23] *Collected Papers*, Vol. II.

aggression not only desists from all aggressiveness against the father but is even punished for his misdeeds. We know how great an increase of (unconscious) homosexuality in our case went hand in hand with this withdrawal. The idea that is so fundamental in religion and ethics of *suffering for the guilt of others* may have its roots in a similar mechanism.

There was abundant material in the transference to confirm our hypothesis. This material consisted of an alternation between occasional attempts of the hitherto inhibited aggression to break out, and exacerbations of the depressions, that became more and more like pure melancholia. He cast the same reproaches alternately at the analyst and at himself. On the one hand he developed a quite extraordinary attentiveness to the ' little sins ' of the analyst, and on the other he declared that the analyst could do all that he himself could not do. While he lived a licentious life, the analyst certainly never had intercourse with women. He said this after he had seen a lady leaving the consulting-room and had spun phantasies about a relation between the analyst and her. He thus repeated directly his behaviour in relation to his infantile sexual observations of his father. He does not wish to have seen anything, and feels that he is guilty himself. More and more memories gradually emerged of scenes in which his father had not conducted himself in accordance with his ideal of him. He had forgotten that he had once seen his father's penis, but had reproached himself on account of his exhibitionistic inclinations. Gradually the material of a normal Œdipus complex came through, and the cure of his impotence ensued entirely in the form of a liberation of the aggression and a struggle against his homosexuality. He was potent for the first time when, in a sudden up-rush of defiance, he kept his mistress with him all night against the expressed prohibition of his landlord. Later on erection took place after a castration-ceremonial, the thought suddenly springing up in him like a revelation, ' I am really alone with her ! ' It appeared that up till then he had always felt himself threatened from behind by a gigantic ghost on every occasion of the sexual act.

We know now the fate of the identifications with both parents which had begun in the primal scene : the identification with the father had partly undergone a regressive change into (repressed) homosexual object-love, and partly had been idealized and established in the super-ego ; there it raged against the ego, driving it to perpetual self-injuries, and affording by the sexualization of these self-injuries a

homosexual gratification to the id. The identification with the mother had been effected chiefly in the ego ; it dominated the actual character of the patient and was completely unconscious. He would prefer to be like his father, and was—without knowing it—like his mother. The opposition between the two parental identifications was similar to the one which Reich has described as a type of masculine ' mistaken sex-identity '.[24] We might say that the perpetual self-punishments signified an intra-psychical continuation of the abuse he had as a child heard his father giving his mother.

We reach the same result as so many other psycho-analytic writers do at the conclusion of their investigations. We find that a great part of what we have discovered has long ago been uttered in Freud's writings. The ' adoption of guilt ' turns out to be a new way of regarding a process which was described in *Group Psychology* and even in *The Interpretation of Dreams* as ' hysterical identification on the basis of the same etiological claim '. If all the girls in a class at school imitate the attacks of another girl, instead of, as they really wish, having a similar love-affair to hers, then in their case, too, the identification has been effected only in the negative form. In ' A Child is being Beaten ' too, Freud has, in the first place, depicted the danger for the masculine character of a regressive homosexual phantasy of being beaten by the father, leading to perpetual self-injury being inflicted throughout life, and has further pointed out that the outcome of a feminine attitude without (manifest) homosexual object-choice is ' specially remarkable ' in the development of the passive phantasy of being beaten.[25] Our patient had had the phantasy of being beaten by a woman only very seldom and with very slight affect. We believe we have shewn why *moral* masochism with its strong ingredient of the death-instinct was the particular form which the patient's masochism took. But that also made a ' feminine attitude without a homosexual object-choice ' possible for him. His homosexuality, through his introjection of his father and his unconscious rage against himself, became a drama that was enacted within his personality, and hence required no real object.

IV

We have little more to add. We hope we have succeeded in reproducing the impression received in the treatment of patients of this

[24] W. Reich, *Der triebhafte Charakter*, p. 48, ff., ' Mutteridentifizierung auf analer Basis '.

[25] *Collected Papers*, Vol. II.

class. That impression may be regarded as an immediate clinical confirmation of the Freudian doctrine of the instincts, and the view that the sense of guilt is a unique, primitive, ruthless thing, which would not shrink from the destruction of the patient's own ego, and is not synonymous with passive sexual libido. It is the clinical representative of the mute death-instincts. We have seen that in the neurotic clinical picture it appears always in instinctual fusion with the more noisy sexual impulses, that the proportion of both components in the fusion can be very different, and that this combination is extremely important for prognosis. We have further got to know a series of possible connections between the instinctual demands of the id and the demands of the super-ego for punishment. In the first case we see, particularly in the symptoms, the various condensations of deed and punishment, the quality of punishment attaching to deeds and that of wish-fulfilment to punishments; the combination of ' criminality from a sense of guilt ', punishment as a license for further sins, and the part played by external projection of the super-ego in paranoid neurotics and probably also in criminals. In the second case we saw the genesis and constitution of moral masochism; the excessive sexualizing in it of all penalizing actions; the turning of the sadistic trends against the patient's self, and the change of the normal Œdipus-complex into the inverted form as a preliminary; further, the mechanism of guilt-borrowing as its most advantageous expression. Unfortunately, in regard to the therapeutic aspect, we cannot say anything more hopeful than Freud has already said in his footnote on the subject of the borrowed sense of guilt.

THE SECRET OF THE BIRTH OF IRON

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The Finns have a famous epic called the Kalevala. The hero ignored a taboo; and in consequence of this, while he was hewing the wood for the making of a magic boat, he severely wounded his knee with an axe. No one could cure him; for he was destined to be his own physician, who is healed by acquiring wisdom. The particular wisdom he required was the learning of the mystic words that chant '*the secret of the birth of iron.*' This paper purports to give the secret of the birth of iron, not in the chant, but in a description of rituals that bring about that strange birth. But since the rituals of the ancient Finns seem not to have been recorded in iron-working practices, we shall have to turn to the blacksmithing and iron-smelting rites of the Bakitara negroes in British East Africa for a parallel case.[1]

Observer's Account

'The artisans of Kitara all belonged to what we have called the agricultural tribes or serfs (*Bahera*). The most important industries were iron-working and pottery, and in both of these, the people of Kitara attained to a considerable degree of skill, and produced better work than could be found in the surrounding countries.

'The first handling of iron, that is, the quarrying and smelting, was done by the smelters (*Bajugusi*), and the rough molten iron was purchased from them by the pig-iron workers (*Omusami*), who worked it up into pieces of various sizes, roughly shaped for different purposes. The smiths (*Mwesi*) bought this iron and made knives, spears, hoes and other necessary articles.

'The smelters were drawn from any clan of the serf class, and their work required a certain amount of skill and experience, for they had to be able to distinguish between good and bad stone. There were two kinds of stone in use, and in common parlance, they were referred to as the male and female. The male was regarded as better in quality, but it had the disadvantage of being hard to break and prepare for smelting. It was black in colour. The female, or soft iron . . . was red.

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[1] John Roscoe, *The Bakitara*, Cambridge, 1923, pp. 218–225.

' At each stage in the work from the beginning of the preparation of the charcoal until the iron was smelted, taboos were observed, and the worker watched carefully for unfavourable omens. When he went out to cut his tree for charcoal, to quarry his stone, or to do any other part of the work, he had to observe all the taboos usual at the beginning of any work ; and in addition, if any man himself, or any member of his family sneezed, he would not go out to work that day, for the sneeze was the means taken by some ghost to warn him of danger, and if he disregarded the warning, he must not be surprised if he met with an accident.'

The Analysis

It is to be observed that two kinds of iron-ore are used, one being hard and called the ' male ', the other soft and called the ' female '. This is a sufficient lead for the anthropologist employing psycho-analysis as a method of attacking a problem, to see that the magical rites are going to have a sexual aspect to them. Moreover, it is seen that the ghosts are watching over the affairs of the workers ; and from this piece of information, the investigator using analytical psychology knows that he will have to deal with religious ideas as well as sexual ones in making his interpretation of these rites and in trying to find their historical antecedents. But of course there will be many acts and ideas of a purely practical sort that will have no latent or esoteric meanings.

Whosoever employs psycho-analysis in ethnology quickly comes to realize that symbolism will lie like a blanket over the ceremonies, obscuring the deeper meanings and generally making the manifest content of the rituals rather absurd. Hard iron-ore will have more than a sexual meaning or a practical meaning ; it will have a spiritual connotation and will mean ' enduring ' or ' eternal ', whereas the soft female ore will signify something more material, which will be thought of as ' temporal '—something cast off in the course of time. The one will be of heaven and the skies and the other of the earth ; one lofty and one low ; one sacred and the other common. The sexual content of the rituals will therefore be concerned with the hypothetical union of the upper world with the lower, or of the spirit with matter, culminating in what is theologically known as an ' incarnation '.

Observer's Account

' The trees commonly used by the smelters for making charcoal were of three sorts.

' When a man first went into the forest to cut his wood, he brought

home two pieces of firewood, one to be given to his wife for cooking, and one to put on his fire ; nor might she touch him, and he had to sleep on the floor. The act of bringing in these two pieces of firewood removed this taboo ; but he still had to observe strict continence, and might not have sexual intercourse until the charcoal was quite ready for use. This ceremony with the firewood also averted the harm that otherwise would befall him if anyone took any of the charcoal wood for ordinary use ; and to neglect this precaution would probably mean that his charcoal would be so bad that it would not smelt the iron.'

The Analysis

The merest hint of trees in a religious connection is a cue to the psychologist that he will have to deal with that hypothetical primordial tree which is the pillar of the universe, more or less identified with the gods and the creation of mankind. That tree has a trinitarian composition, for it is spiritual, being really made up of the souls of Osiris, Isis and Horus. That particular tree, as the negro sees it materialized in the forest about his village, will be cut down by the smith, to be converted into charcoal for use in his furnace. But since the tree has a triple nature the smith will encompass that idea in his notion that his charcoal may be made only from one of three kinds of trees. No doubt practical experience will help to decide just what three particular trees are especially adapted for the reduction of red iron ore. Since the tree that must be felled is a holy and living one and is supposed to tower, no doubt, into the very skies, where the stars in the heavens are identified with the leaves of the tree, as the Egyptians insisted, the felling of that tree by a blacksmith means that a wicked smith cuts down the very god of the universe. He crashes to earth and has his soul metamorphosed into the blackest of coal, as contrasted with his illuminated soul when he was living ; and yet no powers of the earth and the waters of the earth can destroy or alter that charcoal soul through all time. Only fire that falls from heaven can consume the charcoal soul, for water cannot ; and fire is of the bright skies, while water is of the earth.

This idea of the sacred tree whose fall is associated with the fall of the god is by no means an invention of the Bakitara, for they have doubtless been influenced by the Egyptian stories of the betrayal of the Sun-god, Osiris, by his brother Set, who became identified, it appears, with the blacksmiths ; and when Osiris's soul was hidden away in this earth it was enclosed in the trunk of an acacia tree which

was employed to prop up the palace roof of some king. That is to say, when the tree-pillar holding up the bright skies is cut down, the tree is stripped of its branches and the trunk is used as a pillar or centre-pole, not of a heavenly-house but of an earth-house. The roof of this earth-house is still rounded as the dome of the skies, and the pillar-post is still sacred, as we find in the notions of those North American Indians who build their houses in this fashion. The Babylonians had their sacred palm tree and the Hebrews half-deified the cedar of Lebanon. They also identified their Solar-god, Sol-om-on, who neglected the worship of Jehovah, who seems to be Set, the underworld deity, with a palm tree. Jehovah takes the name of Asmodeus or Ashmedai in some of the Hebrew myths. He is the devil who opposes the high-god Solomon. They say that when the Sun-god Solomon was engaged in erecting his spiritual temple in the skies, Asmodeus was captured and compelled to labour on the temple, he being bound in iron chains. He was also lame as all mythical blacksmiths are ; but he managed to deceive Solomon and got free. When so doing he uprooted a great palm tree, which was the one and only palm tree, or Solomon himself, and he also, at the same time, overturned a great house, which is to be taken as the house of heaven, or King Solomon's Temple.[2] This particular temple had to be constructed without any iron being used upon it ; which is a way of saying that no devilish, Set-Jehovah-Asmodeus blacksmith of this lower world can have anything in common with the god of the heavens and his universal tree. It would be very interesting to know whether or not the Bakitara smith paid any special reverence to the topmost branches of his charcoal tree, such as is mentioned by Ezekiel,[3] and as is observed by the Yurok Indians when gathering wood for fires in the sweat-house that was somewhat dome-shaped, resting on a single pillar. Speaking of trees in this connection, one should not overlook the sacred ash tree that the Scandinavians called Yggdrasil. It was the first of all trees and the mother-tree of all mankind. It is said that a rat with iron teeth was continually gnawing at the roots. But an iron tooth is only an iron axe, for teeth and axes are commonly associated in thought ; and the blacksmith is responsible for having made the first iron axe, which in time is destined to cut through the roots of the tree and bring it crashing to the earth ; and that will be the day of the ' Twilight of

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[2] *The Jewish Encyclopædia*, Art. ' Asmodeus ', Vol. II.

[3] *Ezekiel* xvii, 22.

the Gods'. This tree that falls through the efforts of the blacksmith is none other than the Adam-tree, or the Tree of Knowledge as mentioned in Hebrew mythology. The human race is not supposed to have sprung into multiplication until the god-like spiritual Adam-tree comes crashing down. The primordial tree must fall before any 'fire' is brought down to earth, and without 'fire' there can be no reproduction.

This tripartite Adam-tree will have to be felled first before there can be either human beings or metallic iron on this earth. The divine being in the form of a tree has to fall to earth before men can appear on earth. This smelting ceremony that the negro will observe is really a dramatization of a theory of the Unconscious with respect to the fall of the divinity into generation in the lap of Mother-earth and the production of sexual 'fire', resulting in the incarnation of the shattered bits of that great spiritual tree that reached to infinity, before the blacksmith put in his appearance and wrecked the whole structure of the skies—before Set killed Osiris. This tree when it falls is supposed to be smashed into bits, but since that will not actually happen, the smith will have to cut up the tree into small pieces to make into charcoal. Each piece of wood that goes to make charcoal, or goes through the process of 'transformation' due to the sorcery of the smith, will represent a soul of a human being which is shattered out from the collective oversoul of the great prop or tree of the skies. Hence, not only will the charcoal have a practical usage on the purely material plane of thinking, but it will also have reference to, or stand for, the individual soul of a man—a black sensuous soul—that will have to reduce some red mineral secretions of Mother-earth into a carnal body to clothe that soul. That is to say, the underlying thought will identify the red-female ore with menstrual blood, or more particularly with an ovum in that blood, which will be made into an envelope for the black and ignorant human soul as symbolized by a stick of charcoal, which is a unit portion of the integral soul, or trunk of the universal spiritual tree. In short, to reduce ore into iron means that the coal takes on a body and that the iron acquires as it were a soul. The notion that iron has a soul, and a black one at that, will motivate many superstitions about the dangers or the powers of metallic iron. This tree that falls and is shattered into bits in the lap of Earth is to be likened to the sun-flower stalk that grows in the cultivated garden. When it is ripe the autumn winds and rains descend upon it in the form of Typhon, or Set, who blows it down with blows from his breath and

by blows from his lightning-axe, which, when actually found, are discovered to be meteoric iron, thus proving that the storm god who smothers the face of the bright solar deity is really a blacksmith. His iron hammer is also his axe, and it is of meteoric iron ; his fires are the lightning ; his smoke is the dark cloud ; his bellows and their roaring is the whirling wind ; and the noise of his hammering is thunder. He is a destroyer and a leveller of the great trees of the forest ; in short, Typhon or Set is a blacksmith, and of course blacksmiths are wicked men and the enemies of the Sun-god. But in our illustration of the sun-flower stalk that is thrown down in the garden by the devil of the bellows, the seeds are shattered out by the force of the fall and they are then separated from the integral collection of which each one formed an elemental part. Having fallen in the garden, these seeds will sprout next spring. But the ' garden ' is a symbol of the female sex organs and, by analogy, the shattered pieces of the tree destined for charcoal will also fall into the natural garden of the forest, or into the lap of Mother-earth, where they will become incarnated. Now here is where the smith has to construct a symbolical Mother-earth in the form of a womb which shall receive the male seed as a piece of charcoal and the female ovum along with the blood as red-iron ore ; and in that furnace womb, made of earthy clay, the spirit of the coal will pass into the body of iron produced from that iron-ore blood in the womb of the furnace-woman, the ' wife ' of Set, the blacksmith. Set, as a whole or an integral devil, is the sum-total of all the small shattered bits that are converted into charcoal. Set, in other words, is none other than Osiris after Osiris has suffered a transformation by having fallen as a bright soul to earth and there turned into a black carbonaceous one. Since Set, as a collective soul of evil, black-smithing, human-beings, is black in colour due to his identity with his charcoal, then it follows that the spiritually-minded Egyptian priests sooner or later would discover that the Negro race must represent Set ; for they are not only black, but they also are blacksmiths. More than that, they lived in the underworld which was located by the Egyptians at the head-waters of the Nile, in the south. And, as a matter of fact, these iron-working Negroes actually are rather concentrated in the general region of the sources of the Nile. And in so far as metallic iron has a soul and human blood is red because of its iron oxide content, we find that Semetic thought declares that the ' soul is in the blood '.

Fire, according to the Freudian school, means in symbolical language the product of the sexual act, particularly sperma. But that

meaning holds only for the sexual interpretation which the psychoanalyst harps upon *ad nauseam*, to the utter exclusion of all other interpretations which are every bit as valid as the one he recognizes in the exclusive plane of sexual thinking. Fire can mean the gestating process of growth of the child in the womb. On other planes of thinking, fire may signify *life, soul, mind, wisdom, love, light, truth*, and the activities of *purification* and *forgiveness*. But even at that, the sexual meaning will also fit in if one cares to look for the sexual correspondences to non-sexual idealizations.

Since primitive man commonly makes fire by the frictional process of rubbing one stick upon another, we should be able to locate instances where such fire-making had a sexual significance. There was an ancient Hindu ceremony performed for the purpose of ensuring the birth of a male child: 'Fire was made by the friction of two different kinds of wood, one upon another, the upper wood being regarded as a male, and the under wood as a female'. An ancient Hindu charm spoken by the husband to his wife was as follows: 'The embryo which the two Asvins produce with their golden kindling sticks . . . that embryo we call into thy womb, that thou mayest give birth to it after ten months'.[4] In New Zealand the Maori made sacred fire at times. A man turned the upright stick, while a woman was present to hold her foot on the lower stick,[5] thus identifying herself with the prostrate or female slab of wood. A more definitive case is found in the Marquesas. 'A very important member of the royal family is the fire-maker: his duty consists partly in being always near the king's person to execute his orders; but the business wherein his master generally employs him, is of a nature perfectly characteristic of the monarch of Nukahiwa. On quitting his house for any time, his fire-maker does not accompany him, but must in every sense represent his person with the queen, who finds in him a second husband during the absence of the first. He is the guardian of her virtue, and his reward the enjoyment of that which he has to protect.'[6]

Now if, in the Unconscious thinking that dictates this ritual, there is as yet, prior to the operations, no human race supposed to be existing,

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[4] J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, London, 1910, Vol. II, pp. 261–262.

[5] E. Tregear, *The Maori Race*, Wanganni, 1904, p. 138.

[6] E. S. C. Handy, *The Native Culture of the Marquesas*, Honolulu, 1923, p. 47.

and no fire on earth (it being only in the skies whereto the Adam-tree reaches), then until that Tree with its inherent fire-making potentiality has been felled and converted into human souls by being shattered into bits, there cannot possibly be any sexual intercourse upon earth and no fire on earth, since the one implies the other. A state of continence exists on earth if not in heaven ; and in heaven ' there are no marriages '. Hence, strictly in line with this idea, we see that the smelters must observe strict continence, and they may not have sexual relations with their wives until the charcoal is ready for use.

After the felling of the tree the smelter takes two pieces of wood home with him, one to be used in his fire and one in his wife's fire. Until that day arrives, which might require several days' labour in chopping down and cutting up the tree, the wife may not touch the man, and he must sleep on the floor to ensure continence. But after these two pieces of firewood have been burned in their fires, then it would seem some of these restrictions are removed. These two sticks of wood seem to symbolize fallen male and female spirits that heretofore had no actual existence, but were non-manifest in the collective soul of the great Adam-tree. The fall of the Sacred Tree then caused the two sexes to be shattered out from the integral soul, where they were held in a neutral androgynous condition, totally inoperative. Now that the pillar-tree of the universe has fallen the two sexes separate out and the human unit souls also separate out as so many broken particles of the original tree. Hence, until the two sexes were split out of the sexless tree, continence necessarily had to be observed, for intercourse was impossible ; but with the shattering of the Tree, the separation of the sexes from the androgyne occurs, and then of course a sort of reunion through the connection of the two sexes is to be expected. Therefore the smith and his wife may sleep together after the two pieces of wood, as male and female have been burned in their respective ' sex-fires '. The woman's oven as mentioned in this connection is her womb and will also symbolize the smelter's furnace. The danger of having some person steal a piece of the green wood and burn it before the smith had removed his own taboos by bringing home the two pieces is due to the idea that ' fire ' was actually ' stolen ' from the gods, who ' hoarded it up, or neutralized it in androgynous existence.' It took a criminal, a devil or a blacksmith to wreck the tree and shatter out the two sexes, so that ' fire ' of sexual intercourse could exist on earth, together with reproduction in the flesh, but not the multiplication of souls, the latter in their total sum being simply liberated from the

group or collective soul of the Great Tree. If any thief should take a stick of that wood destined for charcoal, prior to the separation of the sexes as dramatized by the bringing home of the two pieces and burning them, that person would be conducting himself as a human being in intercourse, before the Sacred Tree had progressed to that degree of dismemberment. Such an act would be anticipatory dramatization of results not yet attained; it might be interpreted as making fire before fire was possible; or the attempt of twins in the womb to have intercourse before the actual fact of their birth and existence. It throws the time-relations all out of order, confuses the order of ritualistic progress, and would mean that the iron-child that is to be gestated and born might turn out to be a still-born mass of slag.

Observer's Account

'When sufficient wood had been burned, and the charcoal had been broken up, ready for use in the furnace, the men went out in a body of from ten to twenty to the hill where the iron had to be quarried and gathered; and they lived together while the work was going on, building grass huts to sleep in. The first thing to be done was to propitiate the hill-spirit by offerings, that the earth might yield the stone without burying them, and that they might get good iron. . . . In later times these offerings were made through the chief in whose district the place was, and a fowl or goat was always killed as a sacrifice to the hill-spirit.

'In addition to all the ordinary taboos, none of the men might wash while the work was going on, nor might they approach their wives; and if anyone met a dog on his way to work, he turned back. . . . Should any man's omens prove unfavourable he would not start work that day. Sometimes they lost their lives in the unpropped excavations in the hills where they got the ore.'

The Analysis

The Sacred Tree having now been felled, dismembered into units, and charred for use in the furnace, there are in existence a considerable number of symbolical spirits of men who as yet have not been incarnated, on the one hand in flesh, and on the other hand in iron. These units on the one hand are the black negroes taken to be black souls without bodies, each one of whom is symbolized on the side of the smelting activities by a black piece of charcoal, a sort of semi-dead

entity that no earthly elements can destroy, not even water, though the charcoal be submerged a thousand years. These charcoal spirits are negative godlings and are introversions of the living spiritual body of the Sacred Tree before it fell and buried itself upside down in the slime of the sea. The negroes in this mining party are so many pieces of charcoal whose nature has been metamorphosed by a sorcerer after they, as pieces of wood, were shattered out of the tree-trunk, the bole or bowl in which they were held up to the time the group-soul of the double-sexed totemic ancestor was overthrown.

These charcoal-souls cannot become human beings until they have been incarnated or incorporated into human blood that has an iron content ; and that incarnation must be in a womb, a material and not a spiritual womb. Each man in the party of ten or twenty is playing the part of a stick of charcoal, viewed spiritually and not materially. If we were to view him as a piece of charcoal materially, he would have to crawl into the furnace, but that will not be required of him. These men go in a body (as a sort of group soul, loosely integrated) to the hill to dig ore. But in sexual symbolization hills have female signification ; they are known as Mounts of Venus, that being a symbolical term employed in mythology to allude to the female abdomen, viewed as a rounded hill, when a woman lies down, especially when she is pregnant.

The red iron ore, symbolizing blood, especially menstrual blood carrying ova, lies hidden in this Sacred Mountain. There can be no incarnation of these pieces of charcoal, as souls of men, unless the ore as symbolical mother's blood can be put in contact with these symbolical souls, in a symbolical womb, where a symbolical ' sexual-fire ' shall be lighted, to symbolize impregnation of that womb. The excavations in this hill can be looked on as symbolical wombs ; but for practical considerations, such as lack of a draft, the iron cannot be reduced in these holes ; and hence, specially constructed furnaces or wombs made of clay with dome-shaped forms will have to be built. Then, too, the hill of ore is a collective womb, just as the great tree was a collective reservoir of souls, having male significance. The artificially made mount or furnace will symbolize in a certain degree the individualization of the separate souls of the workers comprising the party, a process that cannot take place in the great hill because there it would reintegrate them again into a group, and groups or crowds are always ignorant. The smith, because of his trade and the idea of incarnation, is reputed as having much wisdom ; and wisdom starts

with sense perception, first found at the furnace, or as the Latins would say, *fornax*, where *fornication* takes place.

In entering this iron-ore hill the men are in danger of being buried under cave-ins, which would mean that a human spirit is in danger of being caught and buried in a fœtus if it ventures to enter a womb. This hill is said to be animated by a female spirit, who must be propitiated before she will allow any extraction of her blood as so much iron ore. The iron to be extracted is to make the fœtus or the baby. Therefore the propitiation will have to be in the nature of a sacrifice of a life, which sacrifice will symbolize the death of the Sacred Tree whose death and dismemberment makes incarnation possible. But again, as one should be able to see plainly enough, this sacrifice to the female spirit of the abdominal-hill, will also have phallic significance, without which human abdomens will not incarnate any spirits. This impregnation results in the tree becoming inverted. A fowl or a goat must be killed at the entrance to the mine. That entrance is the uterine entrance. The fowl and goat have masculine meanings. The fowl should be a cock, and not a hen, because of the sex and because a cock stretches out his neck, standing erect at the moment he crows. Both cocks and goats are noted for their sexual inclinations. The fowl is truly foul, and so is the goat. The god-like cattle who will not pasture after goats have been over the field are like the sun-god they represent, for he is antagonized by the devils as symbolized by the goats and fowl. Some blacksmith castes in Africa are not permitted to have cattle, although they are commonly allowed to have goats. Thor, the blacksmith god of the Teutons, was associated with goats. The Christian pictures of Satan show him with goat's feet. The Greek devils or fauns were goats. But we misapply the word, for we speak of a deer's offspring as a faun, whereas we aught, it might seem, speak of the goat's kid as a faun. The Bakitara, however, allow their smiths to have both cattle and goats. Goats and cocks *eat* anything, and neither is cleanly. The expression ' to eat ' we have elsewhere said means ' to copulate '. Here it is too far afield to show why eating has such a meaning ; but a single instance taken from mythology will serve to show the truth of the statement. In his book, *Hero Tales of Ireland*, Jeremiah Curtin [7] tells a story of ' Blaiman, Son of Apple '. It seems that a certain Irish king's daughter went forth from the palace into the garden. There she saw a wonderful apple-tree with

[7] Jeremiah Curtin, *Hero Tales of Ireland*, London, 1894, p. 373.

only one apple on it. She managed to get the fruit and she ate it. As she returned to the palace, the old wizard stood at the door and said to this young lady, ' An hour ago, you went out of here looking like a maiden, but now you return looking like a married woman '. The young princess was indignant and complained of the insult to her father the king. He put her in a tower where she gave birth to a wonder child, called Blaiman, Son of Apple.

The garden where this tree grew has female significance, while the tree is the sacred tree, and the apple is intercourse. The Sacred Tree however, does not fundamentally have a sensual significance ; it is primordially spiritual, becoming sensual or sexual only in its fall and introversion. But one idea always has a precise correspondence in the other, high and low.

These smelters may not approach their wives, seeing that they are not yet incarnated, but are discarnate charcoal-spirits looking for a chance to get a human housing. They may not wash as yet, because they as spirits do not contact water until they enter a fœtus which is surrounded by the amniotic waters of the gestating womb. It is not at all impossible that they must also shun water lest they dampen the energy of the fire in the kiln.

All the world over there exists the superstition that it is most unfortunate for any person to meet a dog crossing his path, or barking at him, when he starts out on a new undertaking. So, in line with this thought, these workers turn back if they meet a dog. If one has ever had the experience in his dreams of hearing a dog bark at him, he will probably remember what a powerful fear of impending death came over him. In one's dreams a dog may bark when one fingers the lid of a box, chest, barrel or other receptacle, especially a baby-carriage hood. The receptacle is a symbolical womb which is savage enough to ' eat ' or swallow a poor discarnate spirit that ventures near its lips. Dogs in psychology generally have female significance, and the Great Dog is the same constellation as we call Great Dipper, Great Bear or Great Mother. Her daughter is the moon, who is another bitch. The Egyptians considered the negroes as having no spiritual fathers, hence having no souls ; thus they were bastards, and were called black bastards, sons of the Bitch. The Bitch is identified with or is a companion of Set, who is also located in the circumpolar constellation. Hence if a dog crosses the path of the smelters they turn back, lest they be buried in a cave-in of the mine, which is taken to be a womb. The men are to be viewed as spirits and not as material beings.

Observer's Account

'The charcoal and ironstone were both carried to the smelting furnace which was a round pit, eighteen inches to two feet deep, and eighteen inches wide, lined inside and covered with clay, which baked hard and did not crumble. A hole in the clay cover or lid, served as a chimney, and through it the furnace was fed when alight. Four tunnels were cut in the ground round the furnace, so that they entered at an angle a little more than halfway down; and blast pipes were put in them. The bellows were clay pots about ten inches in diameter, with a nozzle on one side communicating with a blast-pipe. When a man was making these bellows, he had to observe continency, or they would constantly fill with water and refuse to act.'

Analysis

Although these smelters in their primitive and ritualistic forms of society are motivated to a large extent in their work by the Unconscious, they nevertheless exercise their conscious minds more or less too. Ritualistically there is no need for more than one entrance for the tuyère of the bellows; but as a matter of practical necessity born of experience, no doubt, they make four openings to facilitate the draft. By making four openings, they lose some of the truer symbolization of the womb. As civilizations develop, and as practical considerations gradually usurp the ground held by ritualistic formulæ, such symbolical things as furnaces become dissociated from the idea of the womb until finally mankind loses all realization of what his rituals really signify. As we continue with them in church and state functions, we carry them out perfunctorily for the most part.

The bellows have sexual significance too, as might be expected. A practical concession is made too, in that there are more than one bellows. But in making this practical concession it is not unlikely that the primitive metallurgist has an idea that there ought to be a wind storm blowing into his furnace from all four points of the compass, where the winds are often thought to be kept in caves or jars by the deities of the four cardinal points, who themselves are often identified with their particular wind; for they are spirits, and wind is a spirit or a spirit is like the breath.

Wind is blown through the tuyères into the furnace by raising and lowering a short pole fastened at its lower end to a goat-skin that is loosely tied over the rim of a deep clay bowl. There is a hole in the lower portion of this bowl that communicates with a clay tube, running

to the nozzle at the opening to the furnace. By lifting up the wooden pole or handle one raises the loose goat-skin covering over the pot or bowl, so that air is drawn in ; then by pushing down quickly on the handle, the skin is depressed down into the bowl, forcing out the air which is thus blown with considerable force into the furnace. Usually two of these handles or bellows pots are operated at a time by one workman, who holds a handle in his right and another in his left hand. But the bowl or pot is viewed as a clay womb and the skin over it is that of a woman's abdomen. The upright wooden handle that is pumped up and down is considered to be the phallus of the woman's husband. Thus it is that pumping on the bellows means sexual intercourse ; and this as much as anything else is necessary to ensure the incarnation of the black charcoal and the black negro-souls. It is enjoined upon the bellows-maker that he must observe continence when making the bowls, lest they fill up with water and refuse to work. Now that means that if the man should not observe continence, his now wife's womb-bellow's-pot might become impregnated and then fill up with amniotic waters, so that she might refuse to do any more of the agitating work. Also, the womb-pot being then filled up with water, there is the danger that it might be pumped out into the fire and put it out. The motivation of this behaviour is sexual and is not at all due primarily to any practical considerations whatsoever, or to any experience in iron-smelting. The bellows-maker must not risk having his wife's womb fill up with water, because in his Unconscious he does not differentiate between his wife's womb and the clay pot of his bellows. Moreover, the men are still only charcoal spirits, mere human potentialities, that do not acquire flesh-and-blood bodies until the evidence of incarnation is proved by the fact that the iron appears in metallic form and is born out of the furnace-womb. The iron child of the furnace bears a direct correspondence to the human child of flesh and blood with its iron content ; therefore sexual intercourse is taboo because the men are as yet only gestating in their furnace, not yet being born, not yet being human creatures.

Observer's Account

' When the furnace was made, and all was ready, the men retired to rest early, for they had to rise at about three o'clock to start the fire in the furnace. This was allowed to burn until the pit was hot, when it was filled up with layers of charcoal and iron-stone, and kept full until the smelting was complete ; charcoal and stone being added

when necessary from heaps which were placed near in readiness. There was always a head-smelter who was responsible for adding the fuel and stone, which he dropped in by handfuls. The fire was kept up all through that day and night, until about eight on the following morning.

'While the iron was being smelted, the workers might not eat potatoes, and often they had to refrain from any food but plantains and maize on the cob, which they cooked for themselves over the furnace. Sometimes their wives were permitted to bring them cooked food, but as a rule, all women had to keep away from the furnace; a menstruating woman might never at any time come near, and no man might take part in the work whose wife had just given birth. Infringement of any of these rules would prevent the iron from melting.

'When enough had been smelted, the men demolished the furnace, and with branches or rods, levered out the nugget of iron. While it was still glowing and soft, they chopped it with ordinary axes into lumps which they sold in this rough state to the pig-iron workers.'

Analysis

The preliminary heating of the furnace is purely a practical precaution against chilling the iron. If they got the actual furnace fire going by five o'clock in the morning and continued with it until eight the following morning, the period of gestation in this clay womb would have been about twenty-seven hours, or three times nine, where nine might stand for nine months. The head-smelter acts in a collective capacity to represent all the men; and he in particular is the husband of the furnace-woman. It is evidently his duty to see that the sexual fire is lighted in the furnace, that the bellows are pumped, and that the nourishing red mother's-blood is fed gradually to the charcoal-spirit in the womb, so that it can enwrap itself in a material body of metallic iron. The men must now be kept away from women, for it is they who are being incarnated in the furnace, and they are supposed to be absolutely innocent of sexual desires, even as a child is, especially an unborn child. Through the process of incarnation, these charcoal spirits, as ignorant and black units of consciousness, are enabled to gain wisdom, beginning in sense perception. Therefore when they are born in the symbolical condition of glowing iron, they will prove their wisdom by their very 'brilliance', at least so long as they are red-hot. This brightness or intellectual acquisition is gained through experiences in the flesh; and of course it implies the need of continual reincarnation

as successive steps in the acquisition of more and more brilliance, until one is as bright as the sun. Unless the charcoal spirit as a human spirit will enter a womb and be smelted in the sexual fires there, he can never become ' bright ', but will always remain cold and black. It is a strange fact that primitive men nearly always declare that spirits are densely ignorant and can be fooled and outwitted by any normal human being. Disembodied spirits with primitive men are supposed to have great powers, but very small intellects. Even their hearing and sight are often impaired. Perhaps we are all familiar with the stories of men who sold their souls to the devil and then, on the day of payment, outwitted the Evil-one. The hero is usually a blacksmith, who is very clever. The underlying meaning in these tales seems to be that all of us must sell our souls to the devil, who is the patron of blacksmiths and smelters ; and then after seven years, or seven periods of time, the devil comes to take our souls, but by that time we have acquired such brilliance or cleverness that we always outwit this Mesen or Blacksmith God, who as the Great Dipper, is also none other than the Great Bitch or Great Bear or bearer. Therefore in overcoming the devil we also overcome the need for being mothered any more in the flesh ; in other words, we overcome the need for reincarnation by remaining bright instead of chilling down after we come forth from the ' furnace '. And all this is due to having eaten the fruit of the tree of knowledge which was maliciously cut down by the devilish smith to make up into charcoal to promote the bestiality of carnal intercourse as typified by the furnace womb and the bellows and the fire within. The ' devil ', it seems, cuts off his own nose to spite his face, he always losing in the end. But the devil is Set, the counterpart of Osiris, the two being two aspects of one deity.

The men must not eat potatoes, because they grow in mounds of earth, which are then identified with wombs ; and to ' eat ' the fruit of the potato-hill is breaking the taboo against intercourse. Moreover, the potatoes in the hill can be gotten out only with the use of a digging-stick, which is a phallus, and its use in the ' garden ' is taken to be sexual congress. As a consequence the men may only eat such foods as are wholly masculine, without taint of femininity about them. They may eat maize on the cob, because it is a phallic symbol ; and they may eat plantains because the fruit stands upright instead of hanging downward as does the common banana. In this way the men keep their minds off women and keep their thoughts above their belts.

No woman who is in her periods may come near, because the

furnace-woman is now pregnant and a menstruating woman is not. The influence of the latter upon the former might readily enough cause an abortion, so that the furnace-woman too might begin to menstruate, and show permanent signs of sterility. Such possibilities have to be guarded against. No man may work whose wife has just given birth, because he and his wife might exert such an influence upon the furnace that she might give the iron-child a premature birth, which would be valueless. But finally, when the twenty-seven hours of gestation are over, the ritual is at an end, and only practical consideration is given to the birth of the child. The mother-furnace is simply opened up with a Cæsarian operation, and the bright child is taken out, alive.

The Observer's Account (*continued*)

The Pig-Iron Workers (*Omusami*)

'The pig-iron workers took the rough iron in lumps as it was chopped by the smelters, and worked it up into appropriate pieces, roughly shaped for different purposes, for the use of the smith to whom they sold it. These men never made any implements, and only prepared the metal for the smiths; but they had to observe various taboos, chiefly connected with the stones which formed the anvil (Ibala) and the big hammer (Muhindo).

'When a man went out to seek for stones for his anvil and hammer, the conditions had to be perfect; all the usual taboos of starting work, which have already been enumerated, had to be observed; and he had to avoid sexual relations with his wife during the preceding night. All being favorable, he searched until he found suitable stones, and then went to the chief on whose land they were, taking with him about three hundred cowry-shells in order to get permission to carry them away. Accompanied by a sufficient number of men to dig and carry the stones, probably about thirty, and carrying a basket containing millet, semsem and beans, he returned to the place where the stones were. He scattered the grain and beans over the stone intended for the anvil, and offered a sheep and a fowl to it, killing them, and allowing their blood to run over it. The meat was eaten by the helpers beside the stone, and the man asked the stone to accept the sacrifice and prove a useful and remunerative anvil.'

The Analysis

The anvil in analytical psychology has female significance, in spite of the phallic projection to be seen on one end of our standard anvils.

The tool that hammers upon the anvil is the phallus. Whatsoever is shaped upon the anvil is born of that hammering activity. But the anvil is more than a mere sexual symbol, and so is the hammer, for they are, respectively, the very bride herself and the bridegroom. It is desired, of course, that the anvil-bride be a fertile one, so that she may be remunerative. The offspring of this man and wife will be first a son, who will be symbolized as a knife, spear, hammer, hoe, chisel, axe, or something having the ability to cut open, to strike, to pierce or to cultivate as the hoe ploughs up the garden. After that some female children, such as iron rings, may be made. The iron-worker who goes out to seek for suitable stones, especially for the anvil-stone, is playing the part of a youth seeking for a bride. All things must be quite favourable with him before he undertakes to make the serious step. For one thing, he must have the bride-price, which consists of 300 cowry-shells (they being female symbols but being used as money). The Bakitara usually offer one or more goats for a bride in addition to shells ; and about 300 to 400 shells is considered the worth of a goat. These shells the man takes to the chief in whose house or district the stone-daughter lives. The man must be reasonably continent in his habits, and therefore he avoids his actual wife the night before his purchase of this new bride. The smith then goes with a groom's party of about thirty men, as a ceremonial rather than as a practical working party, in order to carry home his stone-bride from her father's house. Grain and beans are tossed over the stone to render her a fertile woman, even as we throw rice over a bride with the same object in view.

The fowl and the sheep that are sacrificed over the stone represent male and female beings respectively ; or they stand for the sky-towering tree and the stupid earth, the groom and his bride. Their blood as the products of the sexual act, or as charcoal and iron that are burned together in the furnace-womb, is poured over the stone to render it pregnant, hence fertile and surely remunerative. In accepting the sacrifice, the stone is supposed to be fertilized ; but if she is sterile she rejects the offering. These two creatures, fowl and sheep, die as do the salmon after spawning ; but from their union new life results. The men in the party are again ancestral spirits that await reincarnation through the sexual activities of this smith and his stone-wife. For that reason, these very human-looking spirits in the retinue of the bridegroom proceed to *eat meat* while they sit close to the stone. They are really supposed to be gestating within that stone-womb after

the blood has been poured on it. It is they as spirits who are putting on flesh-bodies or are ' eating ' meat.

Observer's Account

' The work then went forward and the stone was dug out and covered with the skin of the sheep, and two bark-cloths. The hammer was a smaller stone found near the anvil-stone ; it was called the child of the anvil, and was carried home along with it, and treated like a child. The men slung the two stones on a pole or two poles, and carried them along, singing as if they bring home a bride. When they reached a point not far from the man's home, he went forward to warn his wife. She dressed herself in two of her best bark-cloths, with a wreath of the creeper *luwezo* on her head ; and taking a small basket of millet, beans and semsem, went out to meet the carriers. She sprinkled the seeds over the anvil and welcomed it like a bride.

' The stones were then brought into the house ; the man killed goats and sheep, and the woman cooked a sumptuous feast for the helpers, and gave them beer to drink. For four days the stones remained in the house, secluded like a bride, and on the fourth day they were brought out and set ready for use.'

Analysis

The reader can now see that there is no doubt at all but that the anvil has female significance and is the bride. She is even given a skin to cover her stone-bones, and then she is decorated in handsome bark-cloths, which are customary gifts to a bride by the Bakitara. Of course it is rather incongruous that the stone-bride should have a little child as a hammer-stone when she is not yet married ; but in Africa, intercourse does not always wait upon marriage, although the Bakitara were particular about it. The smaller stone should properly be viewed as the husband and not as the child. This stone-bride is carried to her husband's home by the groom's party, and there the first wife makes a pretence of welcoming her, even sprinkling seeds over her to make her prolific. The helpers are then regaled in the wedding feast that follows. The stone bride is then secluded in the house for four days even as a human bride is. The Mohammedans frequently do this, and from them it is likely that the Bakitara got the idea. This wife will now produce spear babies and ring babies as male and female offspring.

Observer's Account

'The man worked in the open and had a furnace like that of the smelters, but smaller. His bellows were the same as those of the smelters, but he had only two of them, and they were worked by one man. In the furnace he had a charcoal fire, and he put into it the metal which he had to work up. His tongs were the split branch of a tree, into which he inserted the iron when it was hot, and carried it to the anvil. His assistant wielded the great stone hammer, some eighteen inches long and six inches in diameter, which was always held in a vertical position, being raised straight up and brought down upon the iron, and between them they divided the block of iron into pieces of the size required for hoes, spears and knives.'

Analysis

There is no explanatory comment to make on the preceding quoted paragraph, with reference to magical rites, because the whole matter is concerned with practical work.

Observer's Account (*continued*)

The Smiths (*Mwesi*)

'The smith bought his iron from the pig-iron workers. He kept a supply of charcoal made from four trees. He had to observe the usual taboos when cutting the trees and making charcoal. He made his own bellows, and observed the taboo of continency while thus engaged, lest they should fill with water and refuse to work. While making the pots for his bellows, he might not go on a long journey until they were perfectly dry and ready for use; for if he did so they would crack. When they were quite ready, he had sexual intercourse with his wife to make them sound and ensure their working well. Some iron-workers made the bowls and tubes of their bellows of wood instead of clay, but these were exceptional cases.'

Analysis

The smith makes his charcoal from four trees, whereas the smelters made theirs from three trees. The smelters were working on the spiritual plane which reflected the Egyptian notion of a triad, while the smith is working on a more material plane where four cardinal points symbolize matter or the earth in contrast to the skies. The smith's charcoal is symbolic of earthbound spirits that are too gross and black to rise into the skies, but the smelters had started with the living tree

that towered into the bright immaterial skies. In either case ' fire ' is hidden in the charcoal, which is the dead body, or rather metamorphosed and bewitched spiritual body of the ancestor who died for mankind. He died at the hands of a blacksmith and he fell into the underworld, covered over with earth and clay, from which he emerged in course of time after acquiring some degree of his former radiance, even if only for a few moments.

The bellows pots that the smith makes are identified with the womb of his wife, as previously explained; but the reason why he would find them cracked if he went on a long journey is because, if he were absent from home for several nights, his wife could not remain continent so long and she would have to go to some male friend and have him use his hammer to crack the prototype pot open. It is forbidden in Bakitara circles for a man to leave his bride alone for even one night of the first six months, and during this time they must always sleep in bed facing each other, never back to back. Finally, on the completion of the bellows, the smith must have intercourse with his wife, who is supposed now to be a virgin bride, so that he may break her in to her marital duties, and ensure her working well in the future.

Observer's Account

' He built the hut (*Isasa*) which served him as a smithy, observing while doing so, the usual taboos . . . and scraped a hole in the floor of it for his furnace.

' The most important thing was his anvil, and he went out to look for a suitable piece of rock. Having found one, he applied to the chief of the district for leave to remove it, paying for the permission, 250 or 300 cowry-shells. Taking men with him he went to fetch the stone.

' The stone was then secured to one or two poles, and carried until it was near the man's house, where it was set down, and the smith went on to inform his wife of its approach. The stone was called a bride, and the man and his wife, each dressed in two bark-cloths, came out to meet it. The smith took a bark-cloth to cover it as a bride is veiled, and his wife carried a basket containing millet, and a bunch of purificatory herbs. The stone was then brought in with singing and dancing as in a marriage procession, and placed in the house, whereupon the husband told his wife that he had brought a second wife home to be with her, and help her in the house and with the family. He took the flat basket with the grain, and threw some water over the stone, and sprinkled it with water from the bunch of herbs, that it

might bear many children. The men who had carried the stone were then regaled with a plentiful meal of meat, vegetables and beer.'

Analysis

Much that is described in the above quotation has already been commented on in analysing the rites of the pig-iron workers. The smithy is to be the special house or hut of the new bride. All her children will be iron ones, whereas the first wife will continue to bear human beings. The smith is the father of two kinds of progeny—devilish and saintly. The one takes life in the incarnation of an iron spear, while the other reproduces life as another human being. The men who have carried the material bride or who have carried an earth body, represent former incarnations of the smith himself, in which lives he or his soul carried a material body. The feasting that they get symbolizes their previous gestations and sexual activities: it is the marriage feast.

Observer's Account

'For two days the stone remained in seclusion in the house, and when these were ended it was brought out and placed in position in the smithy; and the smith set to work, and made a knife as his first piece of work on it. This knife might not be sold in the market, but had to be exchanged for millet; this he gave to his wife, who ground it into flour, and made porridge, which the two ate together as a sacred meal, thus preparing the anvil for ordinary use.'

Analysis

The first article to be made on the anvil will be a son rather than a daughter. Therefore some such phallic object as a cutting tool would naturally be made. This knife may not be sold, for that would be equivalent to selling one's own son—the first-born son—into slavery; but it must be traded for grain. Since a son is destined to take care of and feed his old parents, it is appropriate that that duty be now imposed upon the knife-son. Accordingly he is traded for millet, which is ground, cooked and eaten by the couple. From now on, the anvil may be employed in working for other people, since the parents have been well provided for by the eldest son.

Observer's Account

'To make this hammer, the smith bought two nuggets of iron from the pig-iron maker, and until it was made, he might not wash himself

nor approach his wife. He might not make his hammer himself, but called in two smiths to help him, and he had also to invite his parents to be present. The smiths arrived the night before the work was to begin, and in the early morning, about three o'clock, they started to work by heating the iron. The pieces were heated, smeared with clay from an ant-hill, and heated again until white hot, when they were welded together. The larger end was four inches long, with two flat faces, two inches wide, and slightly curved sides, measuring about one and a half inches. At one end of this, a piece six inches long formed the handle of the hammer. When shaped it was handed to the smith's father who dipped it in a pot of water to harden it ; for the smith might not touch it until it was finished.'

Analysis

To judge from the description, the hammer seems to be L-shaped and not T-shaped. This hammer is the symbolical phallus of the blacksmith. It displaces the stone hammer with which he made the first knife. But since, in mythology and magic, a part can stand for the whole, the hammer then stands for the smith himself, especially in his procreative abilities. But no man makes his own body, or his own sexual organs. Therefore the smith may not make his own hammer. It is his own parents that furnish him with his body and his phallic hammer. Therefore his parents must be present to superintend the making of the iron hammer. But since the old man may not be a good smith, and since the women know nothing about the art, it becomes necessary to have two good smiths act vicariously for the father and mother. These two smiths spend the night at the house ; and they ought to sleep in bed together, but nothing is said to that effect. Before daylight they begin their sexual hammering acts that will produce their own son and his ' hammer ', even though he is now a grown man. The acts of the parents as carried out by the two smiths, one being considered male and one female, will bring about the birth of their son in past time. In this recapitulation of the procreation of their son and his appendant hammer, they will incidentally also make an iron hammer for his use at his stone anvil. One of these two pieces to be welded together to make the hammer, or the human body, is to be taken as the female ovum, and the other is the male spermatozoon. These two will be welded into one, or into an oösperm by the two smiths that pose as parents of the new smith. From this iron oösperm a fœtus will develop, and will be born as a

man child or as a hammer to be used on female anvils. All this time the new smith himself may not touch the hammer being made because it is himself and he has not yet come into existence, nor has he the ability to move his undeveloped limbs so as to touch himself—to try to do so would be like lifting one's self with one's bootstraps.

But inasmuch as the old father is responsible for having brought about the incarnation of his son, placing him in his wife's watery womb, it will therefore be ritualistically correct to have the old man take the hammer and put it in a bowl of water to temper it. The bowl is the womb of the old woman, the mother of the smith. Now the smith is in his mother's womb and is completed, ready to be born. There is a ritualistic error here, because the old man takes the hammer out of the bowl ; but as a matter of physiological fact, fathers do not as a rule render assistance to their wives in childbirth. The old woman alone, or with the assistance of another old woman, should take the hammer out of the bowl of water. Then the hammer-child is born, having gone through a baptismal ceremony. The smith should now be allowed to wash up, and the taboo against his having intercourse with his wife is lifted, since he now has a body and also a ' hammer '. The value of the taboo in these matters guards the smith from any ludicrous incongruity in behaviour, but other than that, taboo has no functions, although primitive man thinks the observances are all-important.

Observer's Account Concluded

' When the work was done, a feast was made and the smiths who had made the hammer were given four hundred cowry-shells. That night the smith had sexual relations with his wife, and the hammer was treated like a bride, and secluded in the house for two days. Then the smith took it out and made a knife as his first piece of work with it. With the knife he bought butter, tobacco or coffee-berries which he gave to his parents, and the next day the hammer might be used for ordinary work.'

Analysis Concluded

The feast given to the smiths is a sort of birthday-party given in celebration of the birth of their hammer-son, the smith himself. Then the smiths are paid off. It is rather amusing to note that the author of this account says that the hammer is secluded as a bride. That is true enough, but since the hammer is the symbol of the smith himself, we should say that the hammer is secluded as a bridegroom ought to

be secluded, or perhaps once was, along with his bride for several days. It seems, however, that the groom is not secluded by the Bakitara ; only the bride is so treated. In line with what was stated before, the first knife-son of this couple is made to furnish food for his parents, and therefore we find that the smith traded the knife for food which he gave to his father and mother.

THE GRAVEYARD SCENE IN *HAMLET*

BY

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About eighteen years ago Ernest Jones contributed an essay on *Hamlet* to the *American Journal of Psychology*. An enlarged version of this was published in German the year following and appeared again later as the opening chapter of the author's *Essays in Applied Psycho-Analysis* (1923). Readers of this chapter will remember that, confirming a suggestion first made by Freud, Jones traces Hamlet's inhibition to the Œdipus complex. Hamlet's vacillation has two main causes. Firstly, his repression of infantile Œdipus wishes necessarily arouses unconscious resistances against the thought of killing his step-father ; and secondly, in the deeper strata of his mind, he cannot, as a mere matter of self-consistency, bring himself to take action against the man whose crime coincides with his own unconscious wishes. The writer then goes on to show that Polonius is in several respects an unconscious substitute for Hamlet's ' bad ' father, this being the real reason for his death at the hands of Hamlet.[1] Laertes is also un-

[1] In discussing the identification of Polonius with Hamlet's father, Jones draws attention to the meddlesome character of the former, and suggests that he represents the father in his ' spying ' or ' all-seeing ' capacity. In support of this, it may be pointed out here that the play contains indications that Hamlet did actually regard his father in this light. Thus in Act I., Scene 5, when he is making Horatio and Marcellus swear that they will not divulge his interview with his father's ghost, the latter always manages to overhear him, although—significantly enough—he shifts his ground so as to avoid this. Hamlet's reaction to the ghost's curiosity shows quite plainly his ambivalent attitude towards his father. Only thus is it possible to understand his flippant and disrespectful allusion to his father's ghost as ' truepenny ' . . . ' this fellow in the cellarage ' . . . ' old mole ',—words which contrast strangely with the lofty expressions of filial devotion and admiration which he uses elsewhere. The term ' old mole ' also brings to mind the figure of Polonius snooping behind the arras and Hamlet's cry ' How now ! a rat ? ' as he stabs him through the tapestry. Hamlet's words ' Well said, old mole ! canst work i' the earth so fast ? ' (besides containing a veiled sexual allusion), also recall the suggestion of Furness, alluded to by Jones, that the name Polonius was taken from Polonian, the name for a Pole in Elizabethan English, because even at that date Poland was the land pre-eminent in policy and intrigue.

consciously identified in Hamlet's mind with Polonius, since both men oppose his love for Ophelia. Furthermore, since Polonius is in certain respects a substitute for Hamlet's father, the identification of Laertes with Polonius results in Laertes also being unconsciously regarded by Hamlet as a hostile father-substitute. Finally, Ophelia, as Jones points out, is unconsciously identified by Hamlet with Queen Gertrude.[2]

If the Freud-Jones view of Hamlet's inhibition be accepted, the Œdipus-complex may be expected to account for Hamlet's strange behaviour in the Graveyard. In this connection attention may be directed first to the struggle between Hamlet and Laertes in Ophelia's grave. In view of the symbolic significance which often belongs to a grave, and of the fact that Laertes and Ophelia are for Hamlet respectively father- and mother-substitutes, it is evident that the struggle is directly derived from Hamlet's Œdipus-complex. Hence the significance of his utterance when the attendants part him and Laertes:

> Why, I will fight with him upon this theme
> Until my eyelids will no longer wag.

The references made by both Laertes and Hamlet to the raising of a mountain over Ophelia's grave are also packed with symbolism in the same sense. Jones has pointed out in his essay that the attachment of Polonius for his daughter presents an example of the 'Griselda complex' (Putnam), and has drawn attention to the similar 'dog in the manger' attitude of Laertes. It may be inferred therefore that father and son had been unconscious rivals for the possession of Ophelia. When, therefore, Laertes after leaping into the grave, says

> Now pile your dust upon the quick and dead,
> Till of this flat a mountain you have made
> To o'ertop old Pelion or the skyish head
> Of blue Olympus,

the symbolism doubtless signifies in the unconscious of Laertes a phallic contest with his father. The mountain plays the same part as the ithyphallic 'herms' which used to be placed over graves by the Pelasgian tribes of ancient Greece; and the classical allusion to 'old Pelion' and the 'skyish head of blue Olympus' (Hamlet also speaks of 'Ossa' a few lines lower down) makes it certain, I think, that there

[2] The above statement is, of course, not intended to be a complete summary of the conclusions reached in Jones' essay, but only of those needed as a basis for the present discussion. For the grounds upon which Jones bases his views the reader must be referred to his essay.

is a reference here to a revolt against the father. But Laertes in his turn, also, represents, for Hamlet, the latter's father. Hence a second version of the phallic contest—this time between Laertes and Hamlet. In the matter of mountains, Hamlet can go one better :

> And, if thou prate of mountains, let them throw
> Millions of acres on us, till our ground,
> Singeing his pate against the burning zone,
> Make Ossa like a wart ! Nay, an thou'lt mouth,
> I'll rant as well as thou.

Translated into terms of the unconscious this means that, so far from being ' outfaced ' by his father in their rivalry for the Queen, Hamlet will raise a mountain (phallos) which will dwarf that of his father, and will rise up against him (' burning zone ') even at the risk of castration (' singeing his pate ').

The idea of a phallic contest between father and son is undoubtedly carried further in Hamlet's words, ' Nay, an thou'lt mouth, I'll rant as well as thou '. The unconscious equation of speech with seminal emission is familiar to all psycho-analysts ; and since ' ranting ' is a more forcible gesture than ' mouthing ', Hamlet again claims sexual superiority over his father. The conception of madness as an unconscious substitute for sexual excitement also comes into play ; and appropriately enough it is the Queen who unwittingly makes use of this symbol in characterising Hamlet's outburst :

> This is mere madness :
> And thus a while the fit will work on him ;
> Anon, as patient as the female dove
> When that her golden couplets are disclosed
> His silence will sit drooping. [3]

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[3] In his essay Jones writes, speaking of children of the male sex, ' The maternal influence may also manifest itself by imparting a strikingly tender feminine side to the later character ' ; and refers to the feminine traits in Hamlet's character as commented upon by Bodensted, Vining, and other writers. This pronouncement is confirmed by the Queen's comparison of her son with a ' female dove ' ; as the mother who brought him up, she was certainly in a position to know.

As an example of speech and madness as sexual symbols, a dream which came into the writer's hands a few months ago may be quoted here. ' I dreamed of going along a country road at night. After awhile we turned and went through a long covered bridge. When I arrived at a large house where I'd been invited I was alone. My hostess was very good-looking

Could a more exquisite symbol be found for sexual orgasm and detumescence than this which speaks, first of the song of the ' bird ', and then, of its ' drooping silence ' ? Or one which shows more clearly the relation of poetic feeling and imagery to transmuted sexual affects ? Keats alone has equalled it in his *Ode to a Nightingale.*

It should be noticed in passing that the Queen is not the only character in the Graveyard Scene who alludes to Hamlet's ' madness ' ; the First Clown has already done so in telling Hamlet (of whose identity he is unaware) that the latter was sent to England ' because a' was mad ; a' shall recover his wits there '. But now the thought suggests itself that the madness alluded to by the Clown has the same secret sexual meaning as in the passage quoted above. Who, then, is the Clown ? and how does he come to know, although unconsciously, the real nature of Hamlet's illness ? There can be only one answer to this question. When the disguise is penetrated, the Clown (as will be further shown later in this article) is Hamlet's unconscious double ; in other words, since Ophelia's grave is, in Hamlet's unconscious, his mother's womb, Hamlet himself is the real grave-digger (' digger ' in the ' grave '). Hamlet's conversation with the Clown is therefore, throughout, a soliloquy proceeding from the mind of Hamlet himself ; but its true nature is disguised by the unconscious creation of the Clown as Hamlet's double. In the present case, therefore, it is really Hamlet himself who by the use of the symbol ' madness ' unconsciously divines the repressed sexual nature of his malady—a fact which leads to the interesting result that the Queen, Claudius (' O, he is mad, Laertes '), and finally Hamlet himself all unconsciously recognize the true source of the latter's illness. There is also an unconscious reason why Shakespeare, in writing the play, adopts the idea of sending Hamlet to England to cure him, as the Clown observes, of his ' madness '. For Hamlet is really Shakespeare himself, and England was Shakespeare's native country. But now a man's native country is frequently an unconscious mother-symbol ; therefore, from the stand-

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and dark, a woman of the world and very charming. Her husband had mad spells at times and twice when he was in the room and started talking wildly, she talked to him awhile and turned his thoughts in calm channels. Then she would turn to me as if nothing were out of the ordinary about the situation. I didn't like the husband about at all but tried not to show it. . . . Then the husband started having another mad fit, and there was quite a commotion. He burst into the room and his wife quite calmly threw him and pinioned his arms and legs . . . '.

point of the actual psychogenesis of the play in Shakespeare's mind, Hamlet is sent to his mother to be cured of his sexual longing for her—a state of affairs which recalls those neurotic symptoms in which the 'defence' against the symptom is unconsciously assimilated to the nature of the symptom itself. That the interpretation of England as the mother is correct here may be shown as follows. In inquiring from the Clown how Hamlet came by 'losing his wits', the latter asks 'Upon what ground?'—meaning, why did he go mad? But the Clown understands the word 'ground' in the literal sense and replies, 'Why, here in Denmark',—thus referring to Hamlet's native country, and so, unconsciously, to his mother. For that Denmark is here a symbol for the mother is in turn proved, firstly, by the Clown's next words, 'I have been sexton here, man and boy, thirty years', a remark which repeats the sexual symbol of 'digging' in a 'grave'; and secondly, by Hamlet's next question, 'How long will a man lie i' the earth ere he rot?'—another piece of sexual symbolism which recalls his previous equivocation with his double, the Clown, about 'lying' in the grave.

While Hamlet's complex thus obtains its most complete and vivid expression in the struggle with Laertes, it also manifests itself, though in a more disguised and regressive manner, in the earlier parts of the Scene. This accounts for the strong element of anal-sadism which runs through the conversations with the Clown and Horatio, and explains the introduction of the former as a means of expressing feelings and impulses which really belong to Hamlet. When the disguise is penetrated the Scene reveals itself as a savage attack upon Hamlet's parents. The grounds for this statement will now be given.

The most noticeable feature in the Graveyard Scene prior to the entry of the funeral procession is the rough treatment accorded to the skulls. They are desecrated and insulted both by word and deed. As for the first, the Clown 'jowls it on the ground, as if it were Cain's jaw-bone, that did the first murder'. Hamlet refers to it as 'knocked about the mazzard with a sexton's spade'. The second skull fares no better. After surmising that it might belong to a lawyer, Hamlet asks 'why does he suffer this rude knave now to knock him about the sconce with a dirty shovel, and will not tell him of his action of battery?' Then he goes out of his way to sneer at the skull with the gibe 'his fine pate full of fine dirt'. Further on, after viewing Yorick's skull for a moment in a spirit of pity and tenderness, he suddenly changes to a mood of vindictive spite: 'Where be your gibes now?

your gambols? your songs? your flashes of merriment, that were wont to set the table on a roar? Not one now, to mock your own grinning? quite chop-fallen? Now get you to my lady's chamber, and tell her, let her paint an inch thick, to this favour she must come; make her laugh at that'.

In view of Hamlet's seemingly crazy enmity against the skulls, it is obvious that there has been some kind of affective displacement. Against whom then should his feelings of embitterment properly be directed? There can be little doubt, I think, that the skulls ultimately represent Shakespeare—Hamlet's own father;[4] and a mass of converging evidence goes to support this view. In a footnote to an earlier part of this article reference has been made to Hamlet's ambivalent attitude towards his father whom he desires to avenge, yet refers to as an 'old mole'. A similar ambivalence is observable in his attitude towards one of the skulls. When he speaks of Yorick in a mood of tender reminiscence as a 'fellow of infinite jest, of most excellent fancy', and recalls the rides that he used to have on his back, the surmise arises that this is really an early memory of Shakespeare's own father, and Yorick unconsciously represents the father as loved. But the other side of the ambivalence quickly asserts itself and accounts for Hamlet's sudden change of temper towards Yorick's skull. That the reference here is still to Shakespeare-Hamlet's father is shown by the words 'Now get you to my lady's chamber, and tell her, let her paint an inch thick, to this favour she must come; make her laugh at that.' In Act III., Scene 1, Hamlet declaims against Ophelia for painting her face: 'I have heard of your paintings too, well enough; God has given you one face, and you make yourselves another'.[5] It may be inferred from this that Hamlet's present taunt,

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[4] Bradley and other critics have pointed out that Shakespeare has put more of himself into Hamlet than into any other character in his plays. I accept also the theory of Freud and Ernest Jones that Shakespeare wrote *Hamlet* under the influence of his own Œdipus complex, which was stimulated to renewed activity by his father's death. The impulses and emotions which animate Hamlet are to be attributed therefore in the main to Shakespeare himself.

[5] Why does Hamlet here use the plural 'yourselves' after he has said 'God has given you one face', and he is talking only to Ophelia? It must be because he also has the Queen in the back of his mind, and his grudge against Ophelia's face is a displaced manifestation of his earlier disgust with the 'painted' and meretricious Queen. This makes it quite certain

' let her paint an inch thick ', is an echo of the earlier reproach against Ophelia. But since Ophelia, as Jones has shown, is connected in Hamlet's unconscious with the Queen, he who is told ' now get you to my lady's chamber ' must ultimately be Shakespeare-Hamlet's own father. Proximately, no doubt, the reference is to Claudius. But when the infantile source of Hamlet's complex is remembered, behind Claudius stands Hamlet's own father.

Before bringing forward further evidence that the skulls represent Hamlet's father, it may be pointed out that the first skull also stands for his mother. This is shown by Hamlet's reference to it in the words ' and now my Lady Worm's '. This phrase at once recalls the tirade in connection with Yorick's skull in which ' my lady ' proves, as has been shown above, to be the Queen, through the connecting link supplied by the ' painted ' Ophelia. That ' my Lady Worm ' in the present allusion also represents the Queen might be inferred from the nature of Hamlet's central complex ; but there is also a special reason for this interpretation here, which, as in the case dealt with above, involves a reference to Ophelia. For Ophelia is identified in Hamlet's mind with his mother ; and he has also associated her with the idea of worms or maggots. There is a passage in Act II., Scene 2, which runs as follows :

Ham : For if the sun breed maggots in a dead dog, being a god kissing carrion—Have you a daughter ?

Pol. : I have, my lord.

Ham. : Let her not walk i' the sun : conception is a blessing ; but as your daughter may conceive,—friend, look to 't.[6]

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that when he says in the graveyard ' let her paint an inch thick ', it is the Queen whom he has in mind. Stated merely as a fact, this may be sufficiently obvious to require no proof ; but it is of interest to study the working of Hamlet's mind.

[6] Hamlet's anxiety on Ophelia's behalf may be in the nature of a ' saving ' phantasy with the affective sign reversed by repression, and manifested by transference from his mother, in relation to Ophelia. Overdetermination also probably plays a part, the sun representing Hamlet's father, and Hamlet's anxiety about Ophelia (= the Queen) being an echo of an infantile wish to come between his father and mother. Since he is here speaking to Polonius (for him an unconscious father-substitute), and the latter has an over-strong attachment to Ophelia, the second interpretation has much in its favour. At a still deeper level, yet a third interpretation is possible, which supplements, without contradicting, the

The transition in Hamlet's mind from ' maggots in a dead dog ' to conception in Ophelia depends upon three factors—the mythological symbol of the sun, the unconscious equation of vermin with children, and the underlying thought that the dog here is of female sex. There is a psychic constellation therefore in Hamlet's mind which includes the ideas—worms, Ophelia, bitch. But Ophelia is also connected in his unconscious with the Queen, the identification being effected partly through the repressed thought that both women were ' bitches '. It is this submerged constellation operating through the unconscious identification that accounts for the reference in the Graveyard to ' my Lady Worm '. In the series, ' worm, Ophelia, Queen ', Hamlet's phantasy proceeds in schizophrenic fashion and simply equates Gertrude-Ophelia and ' worm '. Since the thought of the two women is repressed, only the surrogate ' worm ' reaches consciousness accompanied by the quite abstract term ' Lady,' which eliminates all conscious reference to the ' ladies ' really concerned. Hence Hamlet's cryptic allusion to ' my Lady Worm '.

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other two. In a previous footnote reference has been made to Shakespeare-Hamlet's admittedly feminine character as evidenced for example in the Queen's allusion to her son as comparable with a female dove. In accordance with the theory of inversion advanced by Freud in his *Three Contributions*, Hamlet may therefore be regarded as a passive invert—a result traceable to his early fixation upon his mother. In the present passage he identifies himself with his mother (here represented by Ophelia), and his anxiety that Ophelia shall not conceive is a reaction-formation against his unconscious desire to have a child by his father who is here represented by Polonius. Hamlet's hostility towards the latter has therefore an incipient paranoiac character. His homosexuality also places him in an unconsciously masochistic relation to Claudius, and this is one of the reasons why he cannot proceed effectively against the latter.

Another point. Attention may be drawn in passing to the alliterations contained in the above passage. The preservation of the ' d ' sound in ' dead dog ', and of the ' k ' sound in ' kissing carrion ', forms an admirable medium for the accentuated expression of oral-sadism through speech. Again, it may be noticed that the word ' god ' is an inversion of ' dog '. This is after the manner of the obsessional neurosis. The extraordinary amount of anal-sadism found in the play, and Hamlet's change from tenderness to spite in viewing Yorick's skull, are also of interest in this connection. It would seem that when the repressions are especially severe, Hamlet's libido regresses to the level of oral- and anal-sadism, whereupon his illness takes on some of the symptoms of the obsessional neurosis.

But while Hamlet's unconscious sometimes brings the skulls into relation with Ophelia and the Queen, they are chiefly identified with the thought of his father. Proofs of this may be found in the supposititious identifications which he sets upon them and in the phantastic reference to Alexander. Apart from the allusion to ' my Lady Worm ', Hamlet's phantasy leads him to conjecture that the first skull belongs either to a politician or a courtier, and the second to a lawyer. Readers of Shakespeare who are unacquainted with psycho-analysis will probably regard Hamlet's three guesses as a mere matter of chance.[7] But on the assumption of unconscious psychical determinism, this view is no longer tenable. Granting then, for the

[7] This is not the only place where the number three or one of its multiples occurs in the scene. The First Clown says that a tanner's corpse will last for nine years ; and states that he has been a grave-digger for thirty years—' I have been sexton here, man and boy, thirty years '. Hamlet also is thirty years old ; for the Clown started his career as a grave-digger ' that day that our last King Hamlet o'ercame Fortinbras ', and ' it was that very day that young Hamlet was born '. Yorick's skull is said to have ' lain in the earth three and twenty years '. At the beginning of the scene, the First Clown points out that ' an act hath three branches '. Again, there are said to be only three kinds of ' ancient gentlemen ', namely, ' gardeners, ditchers and grave-makers '. A few lines lower down, the First Clown alludes to three kinds of builder, a mason, a shipwright, and a carpenter. In chiding the Clown for being so precise in his choice of words, Hamlet says ' By the Lord, Horatio, this three years I have taken note of it '. There are six gradations in the process whereby Alexander finally becomes the loam which stops the bung-hole in a beer-barrel—Alexander died, Alexander was buried, Alexander returneth into dust; the dust is earth ; of earth we make loam ; and why of that loam, whereto he was converted, might they not stop a beer-barrel ? ' It should also be noticed here that the name ' Alexander ' is repeated three times. The First Priest states, referring to the body of Ophelia, that ' for charitable prayers, shards, flints and pebbles should be thrown on her '. Laertes calls down ' treble woe ' multiplied thirty times on the man who deprived his sister of her ' most ingenious sense '. In the struggle in the grave with Laertes, the three mountains, Ossa, Pelion, and Olympus, are mentioned. Again the number six in involved in Hamlet's challenge ' Woo't weep ? woo't fight ? woo't fast ? woo't tear thyself ? woo't drink up eisel ? eat a crocodile ? I'll do't '. Lastly three acts are referred to in Hamlet's words ' Dost thou come here to whine ? To outface me with leaping in her grave ? Be buried quick with her, and so will I '. All this cannot be merely a matter of chance.

moment, that in his guesses Hamlet is thinking unconsciously of his father, why should his imagination lead him to think of a politician, a courtier, and a lawyer? An answer is obtained by calling to mind some of the facts known about Shakespeare's father. John Shakespeare was, during his earlier life, a prosperous merchant dealing in a variety of articles such as corn, malt, hides, wool, leather, and hay. He also attained civic promotion rapidly, being 'bailiff' in 1568, and 'Chief Alderman'—the highest civic office attainable—in 1571. As a holder of civic offices he was therefore actively concerned with municipal politics and might in a quite allowable sense of the term be described as a 'politician'. It must also be remembered that the word 'politician', in the bad sense, means an intriguer. But Hamlet has already alluded to his father's ghost as a mole working underground (Act I., Scene 5), and we know that Polonius, who is an excellent example of a 'politician' in this sense, was identified in Hamlet's mind with his father.[8] As 'Chief Alderman' John Shakespeare also doubtless exercised the functions of a magistrate, and so through his association with the law might be thought of, in a loose sense of the term, as a lawyer. Two other reasons may also be advanced why Shakespeare might think of his father as a lawyer. Since a father is the one who 'lays down the law' in a household, a son easily associates him in the unconscious with a 'lawyer'; and secondly, Shakespeare's father is known to have been much involved in litigation, especially during the period of his misfortunes. Again it may be suspected that as a merchant who made money in a number of different ways, John Shakespeare was given to 'sharp practices', in which case Hamlet's phrase, 'one that would circumvent God', has a very significant meaning. Further, the idea of getting something for nothing is continued in Hamlet's next conjecture about the skull,—'Or of a courtier which could say "Good morrow, sweet lord! How dost thou, sweet lord?" This might be my lord such-a-one, that praised my lord such-a-one's horse, when he meant to beg it; might it not?'[9] The

[8] Shakespeare must also have known, as a matter of general knowledge, that the word 'politician' is connected through its Greek origin with the idea of a city. The thought 'politician' may have been unconsciously linked therefore with the memory of his father through the idea of a city, a city being here, as in other cases known to psycho-analysis, an unconscious symbol for the mother.

[9] The perseveration of the idea of getting something for nothing, although Hamlet is now speaking, not of the 'politician', but of the

reference here to wheedling and flattery accounts for the idea of a courtier occurring to Hamlet, and I suggest that the reference to ' begging a horse ' is derived (although perhaps unconsciously), from Shakespeare's early observation of his father's business and social relationships.[10] Finally, that the lawyer of Hamlet's imagination is really Shakespeare's father is shown by the way in which Hamlet traces his downfall : ' Hum ! This fellow might be in's time a great buyer of land, with his statutes, his recognizances, his fines, his double vouchers, his recoveries : is this the fine of his fines and the recovery of his recoveries, to have his fine pate full of fine dirt ? will his vouchers vouch him no more of his purchases, and double ones too, than the length and breadth of a pair of indentures ? The very conveyances of his lands will hardly lie in this box ; and must the inheritor himself have no more, ha ? ' This running phantasy is nothing, surely, but a thinly disguised allusion to the civic and business adversity which befell Shakespeare's father from October, 1572, onwards. Hamlet's concluding words are especially significant. For it is known that Shakespeare inherited very little at his father's death, nearly all of the parental property having been alienated to creditors. The Graveyard Scene therefore explains one of the inciting causes of the bitterness aroused in Shakespeare's mind at his father's death. The pungent query ' and must the inheritor himself have no more, ha ? ' and Horatio's equally emphatic answer, ' Not a jot more, my lord ', may be taken as furnishing internal evidence that the play in the form in which we now have it was written after the elder Shakespeare's death. When Hamlet asks

' Is not parchment made of sheep-skins ? '

and receives the reply

' Ay, my lord, and of calf-skins too ',

his comment

' They are sheep and calves which seek out assurance in that '

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courtier ', shows the emotional intensity of the idea in Shakespeare's mind. His father's way of over-reaching people (probably including Shakespeare himself) must have been a sore point in Shakespeare's mind.

[10] When the Clown, referring to Yorick's skull, says ' a' poured a flagon of Rhenish on my head once ', is this also a memory of Shakespeare's father ? In view of the interpretation of the Clowns to be given later in this article, compare the words of the First Clown to his companion, ' Go, get thee to Yaughan ; fetch me a stoup of liquor ',

is simply Shakespeare's way of saying ' I was a fool and a dupe to expect anything worth mentioning from my father's will '.[11]

Perhaps the most conclusive proof that the skulls refer ultimately to Shakespeare-Hamlet's father lies in the analysis of the strange reference to Alexander. Nowhere does the ambivalent attitude towards the father appear more clearly than here. Through the gruesome contrasting thought that his mother must in the end come to death and corruption, Hamlet's tender memory of having ridden as a child on his father's back gives place to a deadly insult to the memory of this same father. Ernest Jones has referred in his article to the fact that a king or emperor is a typical father-symbol in the unconscious and has commented on Shakespeare's repeated jeering at Cæsar in his plays. There can therefore be little doubt that the thought of Alexander suggested by the skull refers ultimately to Shakespeare-Hamlet's father,—more especially since in the mad rhyme a few lines lower down, Alexander has become ' Imperious Cæsar '. When this rhyme is read through and the fact duly noted that the ' too curious ' imaginings which lead up to it are directly incited by the stench of the skull (' And smelt so ? pah ! '), its anal meaning requires no further explanation.

But although Hamlet's meaning is plain, attention must be drawn to another passage, in Act IV., Scene 3, which confirms the interpretation. Claudius is enquiring what Hamlet has done with the body of Polonius :

King : Now, Hamlet, where's Polonius ?

Ham. : At supper.

King : At supper ! where ?

Ham. : Not where he eats, but where he is eaten : a certain convocation of public worms are e'en at him. Your worm is your only emperor for diet : we fat all creatures else to fat us, and we fat ourselves for maggots : your fat king and your lean beggar is but variable service, two dishes, but to one table : that's the end.

King : Alas, alas !

Ham. : A man may fish with the worm that hath eat of a king, and eat of the fish that hath fed of that worm.

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[11] The reference to sheep- and calf-skins probably contains an ironical allusion to the hides which were one of the commodities in which John Shakespeare dealt. It is also likely that Shakespeare unconsciously identified his father with the hides, so that he says in effect, ' I was a fool to place any trust either in the will or in my father himself '.

King : What dost thou mean by this ?

Ham. : Nothing but to show you how a king may go a progress through the guts of a beggar.

King : Where is Polonius ?

Ham. : In heaven ; send thither to see : if your messenger find him not there, seek him i' the other place yourself. But indeed, if you find him not within this month, you shall nose him as you go up the stairs into the lobby.

In Hamlet's utterances here, directed against Claudius and Polonius, there is the same concentration of anal-sadism as appears in the Graveyard Scene. The worms, the maggots, and the stench, are all there. The reference to fish recalls how Hamlet mocks at Polonius in Act II., Scene 2, as a ' fishmonger ', the olfactory implications of the insult being made clear by his present words ' if you find him not within this month, you shall nose him as you go up the stairs into the lobby.' But the most remarkable feature in the passage is the parallel which it contains to Hamlet's later phantasy about Alexander. The steps whereby Hamlet traces the ' progress ' of a king until he passes through ' the guts of a beggar ' find a logical counterpart in those whereby imagination may ' trace the noble dust of Alexander, till he find it stopping a bunghole ' ; and in both cases the reasoning produces the same impression of affective bizarrerie. In view of this double similarity, the patent and unequivocal meaning of the first phantasy confirms that of the second, which merely repeats the same insinuation in different words. It need only be added that the skull, in so far as it recalls the thought of Alexander, represents Polonius, Claudius, and finally Hamlet's father.

There is yet another way in which the skulls are unconsciously connected with the thought of Shakespeare-Hamlet's father ; but this may be set aside for the moment in favour of a discussion on the two Clowns. It was stated above that they are introduced as a means of expressing indirectly feelings and impulses which really belong to Hamlet. But this is true only of the First Clown ; the second seems to be really a fool and does nothing. It is the First Clown who ' jowls ' one of the skulls on the ground and knocks both of them about with his spade (the first skull.—' Knocked about the mazzard with a sexton's spade '. The second skull.—' Why does he suffer this rude knave now to knock him about the sconce with a dirty shovel ? '). The First Clown therefore represents Hamlet's repressed wishes, and when the disguise is penetrated, is Hamlet's double. This interpretation is proved by the curious fact, already alluded to in a footnote, that the

First Clown started his career as a grave-digger on the very day that Hamlet was born.[12] In short, Hamlet and the Clown came into existence together ; for the existence of the latter before he became a grave-digger is negligible for the purposes of the play.[13]

The Second Clown is obviously a dullard who furnishes a target for his companion's quick wit. Whom then does he represent ? The evidence goes to show that once again, it is Shakespeare-Hamlet's father ; and this is why he is represented as a mere colourless cipher. The First Clown, who is equivalent to Hamlet himself, gives him a mild foretaste of the really savage treatment reserved for the skulls. The Second Clown and the skulls both represent Shakespeare-Hamlet's father, and this is the reason why the former leaves the Graveyard shortly before the first skull is thrown up. He is no longer needed, for the skulls have taken his place as a target for the greater degree of hostility that is about to be let loose. That this interpretation is correct is rendered practically certain by an analysis of the Scene prior to the entry of Hamlet. At the outset the point at issue between the two Clowns is how Ophelia is to be buried. The Second Clown starts out in a dictatorial manner and seeks to cut short the discussion by a dogmatic appeal to the ' crowner's ' legal authority. But he soon wilts. The First Clown entangles him in the meshes of legal technicalities and thus trips him up on his own chosen ground, at the same time making a burlesque of ' the law ' to which he has appealed. From this point onwards the Second Clown is simply a helpless hulk for the shafts of the other's fast-moving wit. The conclusion, therefore, is unescapable that this part of the Scene represents a turning of the tables by a son against his father. The reference to Shakespeare's father as a ' lawyer,' which later occurs in connection with the second skull, has already been noted and explained on several different grounds ; and it makes it

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[12] In passing, it may be noticed that this fact is brought out only indirectly by a mediate reference to ' that day that our last King Hamlet o'ercame Fortinbras '. This is doubtless in the service of the disguise.

[13] A curious reflection suggests itself here. If Hamlet and the grave-digger are really one and the same person and were both, in the sense explained above, born on the same day, then Hamlet must have been a grave-digger ' (in the symbolic sense) from the day of his birth. Shakespeare here unconsciously admits that he had an erotic disposition from his earliest childhood. The theory of infantile sexuality thus comes into its own from an unsuspected quarter ; and Shakespeare unwittingly supplies evidence that he was predisposed to the Œdipus complex.

certain that the second Clown, who relies blindly upon ' law ' and authority, also represents Shakespeare's father. The completeness of Shakespeare-Hamlet's triumph in the person of the First Clown (and the Second Clown is certainly a bad ' second ' in the encounter) is shown by the contempt with which he dismisses his companion : ' Cudgel thy brains no more about it, for your dull ass will not mend his pace with beating, and when you are asked this question next, say " a grave maker : " the houses that he makes last till doomsday. Go, get thee to Yaughan ; fetch me a stoup of liquor '. This sounds suspiciously like an echo of the disagreeably condescending way in which the elder Shakespeare may sometimes have spoken to his son. John Shakespeare must have been in the habit of asking the poet, when he was a boy, questions which were outside the range of his knowledge for the sake of then enlightening him with a show of superior wisdom. But now the tables are completely turned and the son makes a fool of the father and treats him like an errand-boy,—' Go, get thee to Yaughan ; fetch me a stoup of liquor '.

Interpreting the Clowns as above, what is the meaning of their dispute as to who ' builds stronger than either the mason, the shipwright, or the carpenter ? ' The three types of builder evidently stand for man's sexual activity (since all of them work with tools). The ' church ' and the ' grave ', mentioned a few lines lower down, represent the woman. Since hanging is a symbol for castration, the ' gallows-maker ' must mean man as he exercises the function of castration ; and this can only refer to the father, as feared by the son. When, therefore, the Second Clown, who equals Shakespeare-Hamlet's father, maintains that the gallows-maker builds stronger than the mason, the shipwright, or the carpenter, he means that he, the castrating father, is more mighty than the sexually insurgent son as here represented by the three other kinds of builder. Once again, therefore, as in the struggle between Hamlet and Laertes, there is a veiled reference to a contest for sexual supremacy between father and son ; and naturally the Second Clown claims the victory for the father. To this the First Clown, who represents the son, replies by turning the castration-threat back upon the father. For he says of the gallows : ' It does well to those that do ill : now, thou dost ill to say the gallows is built stronger than the church : argal, the gallows may do well to thee '. But now comes a most interesting feature. Hamlet, in the person of the First Clown, refutes his father's claim to be the mightier ; but he does it in a curiously indirect way. For when he denies that the

gallows is stronger than the church, he means that the castrating father shall not prevail over the mother, and indirectly, too, shall not prevail over him, the son. For there cannot be any trial of strength between the father, in his rôle of castrating agent, and the mother, except in so far as the mother sides with the son. The form of the First Clown's answer is therefore extremely significant; it means that Shakespeare-Hamlet claims to be stronger than his father *only because he is helped and defended by his mother*. There is here not only an assumption, derived from the Œdipus complex, that the mother will be on his side, but also a further confirmation of the feminine element in Shakespeare-Hamlet's character.

In interpreting the First Clown's answer to the riddle, there still remains one point to be explained. When he says ' and when you are asked this question next, say "a grave-maker:" the houses that he makes last till doomsday ', what is the exact meaning of this in the unconscious? In the first place, it must be noted that there is a kind of equivocation in the phrase ' making houses ', which is apparent for example in the substitution of the term ' grave-maker ' for grave-digger '; for the man does not in the sexual act ' make ' the woman in the ordinary sense of that term. The sexual symbol of the ' grave-maker ' only holds good in so far as ' making ' in this case involves ' digging '; and similarly ' making houses ' in the case of the mason, the shipwright, and the carpenter, must be taken in the limited sense of ' using tools ' upon houses, if the sexual symbolism is to hold good. But admitting this, why, from the standpoint of the unconscious, should the grave-maker be superior to the others because, in terms of the ' manifest content ', he makes houses which last longer? The answer must be this. The ship, the church, the house, and the grave, all mean the woman. But the woman who is represented by the grave, that ' house ' that will ' last till doomsday ', is neither the mistress, nor the wife, but—the mother. Thus does Shakespeare make his tribute to the Everlasting Mother, the woman who remains when all others pass away, and whom another great man, as Freud has shown, has represented in the painting, *Mona Lisa*. The Mother is the Eternal in Life and Death, and holds Death and Life within her bosom. And as the eye pictures this ' grave ' which will ' last until doomsday ', the words of Walter Pater on *Mona Lisa* come floating to the ear, ' This is the head upon which all the ends of the world are come. . . . She is older than the rocks among which she sits. . . . And, as Leda, she was mother of Helen of Troy; and as Saint Anne, was mother of Mary '.

It will thus be seen that no more crushing answer could have been given by Shakespeare-Hamlet to his father than the solution of the riddle put into the mouth of the First Clown. The father is first rebuked for supposing that in his castrating wrath he will prevail against the mother's love for the son,—' thou dost ill to say the gallows is built stronger than the church '. Then he is himself threatened with castration,—' argal, the gallows may do well to thee '. Next, he has to admit the supremacy both of the ' grave ' (the mother), and of the ' grave-maker ' (the ' digger ' in the ' grave '), who is ultimately Shakespeare himself.[14] This is a complete reversal of the claim advanced by the Second Clown, who speaks for Shakespeare's father. For when the latter answers the riddle with the words ' The gallows-maker ; for that frame outlives a thousand tenants ', he evidently means that the castrating father will not only prevail over the protecting mother (the church), but also over a thousand sons ; for the ' tenants ' in the church-house are the sons within the mother's womb. But now this claim is overthrown and the Eternal Father is deposed by the Everlasting Mother and the Son. Finally, the father has to go and publish his humiliation from the house-top,—' and when you are asked this question next, say " a grave-maker " : the houses that he

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[14] Shakespeare as the ' grave-maker ' has two meanings. As a ' digger ' in the ' grave ', he assumes the sexual rôle of the father with the mother, and in the unconscious commits his father's dead body (= a baby) to the grave (womb). This involves the phantasy of the ' reversal of generations ' ; and it may be recalled how Hamlet, in Act II., Scene 2, said of Polonius,—' that great baby you see there is not yet out of his swaddling clouts ' ; to which Rosencrantz replies by remarking that ' an old man is twice a child '. Secondly, Shakespeare may be regarded as, in the literal sense, digging a grave for his father which will ' last till doomsday ', and thus he gets rid of him for all time.

It may also be noted that the Second Clown does not do any digging. Shakespeare's unconscious would not tolerate him as a ' digger ' in the symbolic sense ; and if a grave is to be made in the literal sense for either father or son, it will be for the former, and so is dug, appropriately enough, by the First Clown, who represents Shakespeare. Finally, when the First Clown says ' Come, my spade ', it sounds like an order to the other Clown. John Shakespeare, therefore, undergoes the further indignity of having to give his son the spade which is to make his grave (in the literal sense) and also (in the symbolic sense) to prepare the way for his son to indulge in the sexual activity which he himself is forbidden.

makes last till doomsday '. And on top of all this, he is sent running, like a schoolboy on an errand, to fetch his son a drink.

Proceeding now to Hamlet's opening words to the Clown, what is the meaning of the strange equivocation which passes between them about ' lying ' in the grave ? An answer can be found by turning first to Hamlet's famous speech ' To be, or not to be : that is the question.' Hamlet's problem here is whether he shall seek a haven from the troubles of life in the sleep of death, or put up with the ills he has rather than court the unknown dangers of

> The undiscover'd country from whose bourn
> No traveller returns. . . . [15]

Now since death, as a release from the hardships of life, is a symbol for the mother, and sleep is a return to the intra-uterine condition, it is clear that the source of Hamlet's indecision lies in the conflict in his mind between the ' flight back to the womb ' and the consideration which makes him desire to go on living. This is the real reason why in him

> . . . the native hue of resolution
> Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought.

It is Hamlet's ambivalent attitude towards the all-enfolding mother which causes ' the undiscovered country ' to ' puzzle the will ' and keeps him hanging in suspense.

Returning now to the Graveyard Scene, the meaning of the equivocation about ' lying ' in the grave becomes apparent. The actual grave which holds the Clown is, in the unconscious, the grave which will ' last till doomsday ',—therefore, the mother.[16] Since Hamlet is outside the grave, and the Clown who is in it is his double, the curious situation arises that Hamlet both is, and is not, in the grave.[17] It is this contradiction that justifies the second meaning of

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[15] When the symbol of the ' country ' is taken into consideration, the original and literal meaning of the word ' undiscover'd ' at once suggests itself and is seen to be especially appropriate.

[16] This, of course, is the reason why Hamlet later tries to eject Laertes, a father-substitute, from the grave, as, in the person of the Clown, he has already thrown out the skulls which represent his father. The only man allowed in the grave is his double.

[17] The Clown's words ' 'Tis a quick lie, sir ; 'twill away again from me to you ', support the theory that he is Hamlet's double. For if the lie

the word ' lie ', upon which the riddling ambiguity of the lines depends. Hamlet ' lies ' in the grave, and yet, since he is outside it, it is a ' lie ' to say he ' lies ' in it. Again he is outside the grave, yet since he is in it, it is a lie to say that he does not ' lie ' in it. The confusion arises from the fact that the logic of waking life is applied to the phantasy-construction of the double, where it is no longer valid. The two figures, one in, and the other outside the grave, represent the two sides of Shakespeare-Hamlet's nature, one of which desires to return to the womb, while the other wishes to go on living. The former is represented by the Clown who desires to be one with the ' beneficent ' mother ; the latter, by Hamlet who stands outside the grave, which he dreads as the ' terrible ' mother.[18] For, as he says, ' 'tis for the dead, not for the quick.' The underlying conflict is the same as that

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thus flies magically from the one to the other, there must be some hidden bond between the two men which explains its passage.

[18] Hamlet's ambivalent feelings towards the mother's womb to which he is unconsciously attracted, while at the same time dreading it, is also expressed elsewhere by his double the Clown. For water, as well as a grave, is a symbol for the womb ; and this explains the unconscious meaning of some of the Clown's allusions. For example, at the beginning of the scene, the First Clown weaves into his discussion of the law a reference to drowning, and makes the curious distinction, ' if the man goes to this water and drown himself, it is, will he, nill he, he goes ; mark you that ; but if the water come to him and drown him, he drowns not himself : argal, he that is not guilty of his own death shortens not his own life '. The meaning of this is as follows. Hamlet in the person of the Clown feels in his unconscious the lure of the regressive movement back to the mother's womb ; but, consciously, he dreads it, as here symbolised by water, even as he dreads the ' grave ' of which, while his double the Clown is in it, he says ' 'tis for the dead, not for the quick '. At the beginning of the scene, where the reference is to water, Hamlet, as the First Clown, has a confused feeling that he is being sucked down into the ' water '. He is undergoing the same fate as the prince in the fairy-story ' The Frog-Prince ', who is changed by the witch (= the mother) into a frog condemned to live in a pool in a wood. In his despair at this fate which he feels himself unable to avert, he clutches like a drowning man at a (legal) straw, and pleads ' It is my mother's fault, not mine ; for the "water" came to me, I did not go to the water '. In claiming that he is the victim of the ' terrible ' mother, against whom he could not defend himself, Hamlet thus gives further evidence of his effeminate character.

in the speech ' To be, or not to be ' ; but in the Graveyard Scene it is ' dramatized ' as in a dream.

So much for the Clowns. The way is now clear for a return to the skulls. It would be strange if a threat of castration directed against his father did not play an important part in the submerged tumult in Shakespeare-Hamlet's mind. A hint of such a threat has already been given in the remark of the First Clown, ' argal, the gallows may do well to thee.' But more remains to be said. Each of the skulls has, by

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This same thought of being the victim of the lure exercised by the mother also finds expression in the verse sung by the Clown :—

But age with his stealing steps,
Hath claw'd me in his clutch
And hath shipped me intil the land,
As if I had never been such.

The reference here to ' his ' must be discounted as part of the ' distortion '. ' Age ' then refers to the mother as the ' old witch ' who with her claw-like clutch is robbing Hamlet of his manhood and dragging him back within the womb. The symbols of ' ship ' and ' land ' in the phrase ' hath shipped me intil the land ' makes this interpretation certain. Since being robbed of manhood in this fashion is equivalent to castration, the mother here is also confused in the unconscious with the castrating father, and this further explains ' *his* stealing steps ' and ' *his* clutch '.

Lastly, when the First Clown refers to the tanner's ' corse ' which will keep out the water for nine years, the tanner refers here to Shakespeare-Hamlet. A reference has been made to the fact that Shakespeare's father dealt in hides and leather, Shakespeare probably identifying him with these in the unconscious. Shakespeare therefore is the ' tanner ' in the ' grave ' and in that position ' tans ' (beats) his father (the sexual reference coming out in the ' nine years '). In so far as ' tanned ' means ' tough ', and so, able ' to keep out water ', however, the ' tanner whose hide is tanned ' is again Shakespeare himself. There is a piece of wish-fulfilment here in the sense that Shakespeare reacts against his effeminate nature (which cannot long resist his mother's influence as represented by ' water ') with the wish that he was ' tough '. By ' condensation ', there is also a reference to Shakespeare's father in the tanner. The yellowish-brown colour of tan suggests an anal allusion (later confirmed in the phantasy about Alexander) and Shakespeare here regrets that the ' old man's ' skin is so tough and takes so long to break up. As interpreted thus, the ' water ' probably also contains an allusion to urine. That the tanner also refers to Shakespeare's father is also, I think, shown by the fact that the Clown goes by ' free association ' from him to Yorick's skull which, it has been argued, also refers to Shakespeare's father.

over-determination, several different meanings and represents different persons either simultaneously or successively. But there is one meaning which is disclosed only by taking both skulls together. In the first place, it should be noticed that two skulls, and two only, are thrown up out of the grave. Since for psycho-analysis nothing in the sphere of the mind is accidental, the number ' two ' must have an unconscious meaning ; and the thought at once arises that the skulls represent the two testicles. For the skulls are thrown up out of the grave like stones ; and stones occur both in dreams and mythology as symbols for the testes.[19] If this interpretation be accepted, there are

[19] One of the reasons for this is doubtless found in the *tertium comparationis*, nuts ; for the word ' nut ' is a nickname not only for the head, but also for the testes (' nuts '). The Clown knocks the skulls about as though he wanted to crack them. But now the fairy-story, ' The Clever Little Tailor ', tells how the hero rescued a princess from a savage but dull-witted bear. He challenges the bear to a contest in cracking nuts with his teeth. The Tailor, of course, succeeds in doing this and eats the kernels ; but the bear fails because the other has surreptitiously substituted pebbles.

Attention may also be directed to a passage in the Graveyard Scene where stones are actually mentioned and evidently have a symbolic meaning. The First Priest says, referring to Ophelia, that ' for charitable prayers, shards, flints and pebbles should be thrown on her '. There is a clear sexual reference here, more especially since ' shards ' are not only pieces of broken pottery, but also the hard wing-cases of a beetle. While the flints and pebbles represent the testes, the shards stand for the vagina, which is the ' wing-case ' for the ' flying ' penis. Ophelia, it will be noticed, is regarded as deserving hard treatment by the ' churlish priest ' ; and this idea of hardness is not only represented by the pebbles and flints (' hard as flint ') which are to be thrown upon her, but is extended even to her own genital organ, here referred to as a shard. It is as though the Priest wished it to become hard and dry as a punishment for her crime.

A further point. Ophelia is identified in Hamlet's unconscious with the Queen. The suspicion arises that the Priest is really giving expression to a wish originating in the mind of Hamlet, who here wishes to punish his mother for her ' crime '. There are two reasons for supporting this view. Firstly, Hamlet raises no objection against the Priest's words ; the reproof which follows comes from Laertes. Secondly, if it be assumed that Hamlet approves of, while Laertes (who unconsciously equals Hamlet's father) objects to the treatment recommended for Ophelia, there is a parallel to the beginning of the scene where the Second Clown (Shakespeare-Hamlet's father) defends Ophelia's right to a Christian burial while

still a few features in the Scene which call for attention. We know at this stage, that the First Clown is Hamlet's double. His behaviour

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the First Clown, who represents Hamlet himself, disputes it. Incidentally, the Second Clown's plea for the Christian burial is a further reason for regarding him as the equivalent of Hamlet's father ; for the Ghost pleads with Hamlet, in Act III., Scene 4, on behalf of the Queen, and asks him to mitigate his fury. Finally, Hamlet's ambivalent attitude to his mother is shown by the words of the Priest through whose mouth he is really speaking. For while the pebbles which are to be thrown on Ophelia, who unconsciously represents the Queen, serve the purposes of a punishment, they also bespeak Hamlet's desire for his mother.

But there is still more to be said. It was stated above that Hamlet does not take exception to the First Priest's words. This statement must now be qualified. For when one reads the words ascribed to Laertes, ' And from her fair and unpolluted flesh may violets spring ! ' one feels that the poetry of this impassioned protest must spring direct from Shakespeare-Hamlet's own soul and that here, for the moment, he is speaking through the mouth of Laertes. The phrase ' fair and unpolluted flesh ' also shows that Shakespeare-Hamlet is here thinking of his mother, as every son thinks of his mother in the unconscious, as a virgin. As the ' grave ' that will ' last till doomsday ', she is the mother ; but here she is the virgin. There is therefore a reference here to the perennial idea of the virgin-mother. When Shakespeare-Hamlet thinks of his mother's ' faithlessness ', he is embittered against her and would deny her Christian burial ; but in so far as in the unconscious of the son she is still a virgin, he has nothing but love for her. This explains the ambivalent attitude to the mother which is noticeable even in the words of the First Priest ; for the latter at the end of his speech shows sign of relenting towards Ophelia and allows her ' her virgin crants, her maiden strewments and the bringing home of bell and burial '. The Priest thus represents both sides of Hamlet's attitude to his mother. It may be added that a further reason for regarding the First Priest as equivalent to Shakespeare-Hamlet lies in the fact that, as ' first ', he bears a resemblance to the First Clown, who is also Hamlet's double. The fact that the stage instructions read ' Enter Priests ', also shows that there is a Second Priest in the funeral procession, who like the Second Clown will represent Shakespeare's father. This is the reason why he is even more of a cipher than the Second Clown, there being no actual reference to him in the text of the play. Lastly, attention should be drawn to the significance of the Queen's words, ' I hoped thou shouldst have been my Hamlet's wife '. Since Ophelia in Hamlet's unconscious is his mother, Shakespeare-Hamlet here projects on to the latter his unconscious wish to have his mother as his bride.

in knocking the skulls about may therefore be interpreted as a castration carried out by Shakespeare-Hamlet upon his father. The symbol of the spade or shovel with which the Clown strikes them also suggests that Hamlet uses his own ' tool ', in the unconscious, to carry out this act.[20] The reference to castration is also in evidence beneath the symbolism of tongue and song in Hamlet's remark, ' This skull had a tongue in it and could sing once ', it being quite apparent from the actions of his proxy the Clown that he is glad this is no longer the case. Finally, the fact that blindness is a symbol for castration makes it probable that Hamlet's earlier reference to his father's ghost as ' old mole ' is unconsciously determined.[21]

In conclusion, attention must be directed to Hamlet's question ' Did these bones cost no more the breeding, but to play at loggats with 'em ; mine ache to think on't ? ' Hamlet here feels, by introjection, the pain of the treatment that he is inflicting, through his double, the Clown, upon his father ; and it is quite in accordance with this that the word ' ache ' is as suitable in relation to the testes as it is to the head. Again, why does Hamlet, although only one skull has yet been brought to light, speak, in the plural, of ' these bones ' ? Superficially, an explanation might be given by referring to the game of ' loggats ' which would require more than one ' bone ' ; or by showing that the use of the word ' bones ' is anatomically justified in speaking of a single skull. But there is probably also a deeper reason. Hamlet's use of the plural is unconsciously determined by the thought of the two testes. Since this is just one of those interpretations which a critic is apt to regard as fanciful, a comparison may be made with

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[20] That the spade with which the Clown strikes the skulls has a symbolic meaning is shown by the badinage which passes between him and the other Clown. The joke turns on a reference to ' Adam's profession ' and his ' arms ', the latter meaning both arms as a part of his body and the spade which he carries as a gardener. In accordance with Shakespeare's custom in such matters, it is safe to assume a third and sexual meaning beneath the other two. This assumption is rendered the more certain by the fact that ' arms ', in both of the senses alluded to by the Clown, are found as phallic symbols in dreams and mythology. The symbolic meaning of the spade in the joke therefore prepares the way for the deeper meaning of his action in striking the skulls.

[21] In view of the unconscious meaning of the struggle in the grave with Laertes, Hamlet's statement that if the latter wants to ' eat a crocodile ', he will too, may also be regarded as a reference to castration.

Grimm's fairy-tale, *The Youth who Went to Learn to Shudder*. In this the hero, as so often happens, rescues a princess from a haunted castle and secures the treasure in the cellar. The story contains the following passage :

' Immediately there came tumbling down the chimney nine more of these horrid men, one after the other ; each of them held a human thigh-bone in his hand and the first who appeared brought out two skulls, and presently they set up the nine bones like skittles, and began to play, with the skulls for balls.

' " Shall I play with you ? " asked Hans after he had looked on for some time.

' " Yes, willingly ", they replied, " if you have any money ? "

' " Plenty ", he said ; " but your balls are not quite round ". So he took the skulls and turned them on the lathe. " Now they will roll better ; come on, let us set to work " '.

It may seem a far cry from Hamlet to Grimm's fairy-stories ; but there is neither time nor space where the unconscious is concerned. I think the fairy-story explains why Shakespeare unwittingly used the plural.

BOOK REVIEWS

Selected Papers of Karl Abraham, M.D., with an introductory memoir by Ernest Jones. Translated by Douglas Bryan and Alix Strachey. (The Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psycho-Analysis. London, 1927. Pp. 527. Price 30s.)

The Institute of Psycho-Analysis and the Hogarth Press have every reason to congratulate themselves on the publication of this volume of Abraham's ' Selected Papers '. It represents the completion of one more stage in the laborious process of rendering the classic literature of psycho-analysis accessible to English readers. It is to be hoped that the success of their ventures in this direction will encourage them to further efforts to make up leeway. Already the position of the English student of psycho-analysis is immeasurably stronger than was that of his predecessors, whose access to an ample store of information on their subject was artificially narrowed down by reason of linguistic difficulties. As this is a form of indebtedness which a future generation of students is not likely to acknowledge save by the indirect method of building up individual libraries of reference, it would be ungenerous not to take this opportunity of paying tribute to the energy and foresight of both editor and publishers of the series, to say nothing of the skill and devotion of translators.

The value of the present volume has been greatly enhanced by the inclusion of Dr. Jones' Introductory Memoir. It gives the reader not only suitable orientation on the nature and tendencies of Abraham's work but, what is more important to those who never had an opportunity of making personal contact with Abraham, some idea of the quality of the man. It is a commonplace of scientific research that the valuation of published ' findings ' is sometimes of minor importance compared with the valuation of ' tendency ', at any rate when the territory concerned is still incompletely explored. To value tendency properly requires some knowledge of the personal characteristics of the investigator, preferably first-hand, or at the least at reliable second-hand, a fact which goes far to justify frequent international congresses. In the personal side of his study, Dr. Jones has made clear why Abraham's contributions evoked such a high degree of appreciation amongst his co-workers. To say that he was first and last a clinician would be a lop-sided statement of his claims to scientific trustworthiness. He was certainly an accomplished clinician in the ordinary sense of the term, as can be judged from the wealth of apposite illustration in all his publications. But whilst his clinical experience stood him in good stead in matters of theoretical discussion it also provided him with an empirical touchstone in forming his most important generalizations, yet never blunted his sensibility or warped his judgement. His theoretical

contributions to psycho-analysis were crystallizations from a saturated solution of clinical experience.

The task of reviewing these ' Selected Papers ' has been greatly simplified by the Editor's critical summary of Abraham's work : indeed that summary might well have been reprinted to serve as an official review of the volume. One can only hope to underline some of the more important aspects of Abraham's scientific contributions as commented on in Dr. Jones' Introduction and refer the reader to that Introduction for further information. To begin with, one is bound to agree that the outstanding feature of Abraham's work is the amount of interest displayed in all matters concerning pregenital development, as represented by primitive ego-formations and early libido-imprints. But whilst one immediately thinks of unconscious determinants of this interest, there are certain other factors to be taken into account. One must remember that his psycho-analytical contributions date from 1907 to 1925. Newcomers to psycho-analytical science are fed on a richer diet than was available twenty years ago : they lisp the language of the super-ego, whereas in those pioneer days investigators started out equipped with the bare essentials of psycho-analytic method and a few jealously-guarded analytical discoveries. They had not only to break new ground but to consolidate and defend the ground already wrested for them by Freud. Hence the collected papers of Abraham, Jones and Ferenczi correspond to some extent in tendency : a good deal of the energy of this triumvirate has been taken up in extending and consolidating gains which might otherwise have been robbed of some of their significance. Each of these writers had his own method and predilection even when the subject under investigation covered common ground. Nevertheless their works, in addition to illustrating individual tendencies, reflect the history and growth of the analytic movement. It is true then to say that Abraham made a special study of pregenital development, but one has the impression that at the time of his death he had almost brought to completion that particular side of his activities and was about to convert his summation of experiences into new and fruitful generalizations.

It is an instructive exercise to trace these developments in a systematic way, to start for example with Freud's ' Three Contributions ', to watch the result of this stimulus on the minds of the three writers mentioned, and to note their correspondences or differences at points where their investigations overlapped. By so doing one is able to correct the impression which might be formed concerning Abraham's work on stages of development that it was almost too schematic, that the stages tended to come out ' two by two '. Abraham certainly had a ' tidy mind ' and enjoyed tracing order through apparent chaos : he would resolve the difficulties of a continental Bradshaw with something of the same zest that he would unravel an obscure point in psycho-genetics. One has only to compare his

' segmentate ' view of infantile development with the more fluid conception favoured by Ferenczi (cf. amphimixis) to see that what the former may have lost through rigidity of presentation was compensated for in other directions, e.g. increased comprehension of the fixations in transference and narcissistic neuroses respectively.

I find that almost unconsciously I have singled out his ' Development of the Libido ' for comment. A feature of this contribution is the inadequate nature of its title. It is concerned not merely with stages in the development of the libido and, as suggested above, with the significance of fixation points, but adds equally to our understanding of more primitive ego-formations and is at the same time a weighty contribution to the etiology, prognosis and treatment of manic-depressive insanity. Its publication in 1924 could not have been more opportune. This was the period when the idea of a ' birth trauma ' was being freely canvassed as the true and ultimate genetic factor in mental disturbances, and, what is more significant, was being toyed with by analysts other than its sponsor. Abraham's work provided a useful corrective to this tendency ; one could not but be impressed by his painstaking and balanced presentation of the evidence in favour of differentiating phases within oral and anal stages, and at the same time with the recognition given to other and later factors in the causation of depression. This aspect is now of mere historical interest, but it will serve to draw attention to the amount of patient research underlying Abraham's formulations on the most primitive stage of ego and libido development. Not the least of the advantages of collecting these papers is that we are able to follow at our convenience the three main tributary sources of his information on this subject, viz. general analytic investigation, the analytic study of the psychoses and shrewd observation of human behaviour, what we might call analytic ' field ' work.

It is not unjustifiably held that analytical conclusions based solely on enlightened observation are somewhat suspect. On the other hand, I imagine it would not be impossible to collect isolated observations of a kind which would, without any interpretative handling, demonstrate the validity of Freud's views of human development. A feature of Abraham's work is the manner in which he laid ' field ' observations under tribute and so put the final decorative touches to his analytical conclusions. He certainly was a master of this art : in the most ordinary of social situations few details of conduct escaped his quietly observant eye. The fruits of these observations add a certain spice to most of his contributions and are turned to especial advantage in his papers on character. If we compare his character studies with his essay on libido development it becomes clear that he was not content with mere demonstration of individual stages and presentation of clinical findings, but that his ambition was the correlation

of a multiplicity of observations and their co-ordination in a general scheme of development. It was, of course, typical of his scientific attitude that one who could have written volumes on characterology should have been content to embody his conclusions within the slender compass of a few papers. But though we may regret that he was so sparing in this respect, these papers will nevertheless be found to provide an enduring framework for future researches. Of particular interest is his correlation of certain social characteristics with the post-ambivalent stage of genital development, and his view that effective adaptation depends on the measure in which this post-ambivalent stage is attained, in other words, on the satisfactory modification of impulses of destruction and mastery and on the weakening of narcissistic interest. Here as elsewhere he is careful to emphasize the different factors contributing to this result, e.g. the nature and modification of the impulse and the change in the object of impulse excitation. This reminds us that we are specially indebted to Abraham for the clarity with which he presented his views on development. It was always his endeavour to avoid confusion and to add to existing correlations: his parallel tables indicating the stages of libidinal development and the nature of object relations are a model of simple and illuminating presentation.

Among the more or less self-contained papers in this volume three are of outstanding importance, viz. his studies of the transformations of scoptophilia, of ejaculatio præcox, and of manifestations of the female castration complex. The first of these, and incidentally the longest in the book, is a classic example of the earlier manner of psycho-analytical writers. We see Abraham thoroughly at home and happy reducing to order a mass of clinical observations on a practically uncharted subject, drawing from analysis, general medicine and folklore the essential material on which his conclusions were based. The second paper, on ejaculatio præcox, is more limited in scope, but has the hall-mark of the same period. There is the same easy handling of material and exposition of mechanisms, although it is interesting to note that his concern with urinary erotic tendencies on this occasion deflected his attention from oral erotic and oral sadistic factors. As for the paper on manifestations of the female castration complex, it is no exaggeration to say that we are still listening to the reverberations it produced in psycho-analytical discussion.

It is interesting to speculate on the position Abraham, had he lived, would have taken up on practical matters such as the completion of the Œdipus complex in women and on theoretical points such as the function of the super-ego. On the one hand, his interests seemed to be tending in the direction of more elaborate systematizations of psycho-analytical knowledge, but on the other he had a strong preference for findings which could be subjected to rigid empirical control. He was never impatient

with theorizing and would listen with attention to the theoretical wrestlings of less experienced juniors, but his indulgence went no farther than his scientific caution would permit. When necessary he never hesitated to give an easy quietus to theoretical verbigeration. It was remarkable how much ballast he gave to any discussion which threatened to become windy, and it is more than probable that his influence would have continued to be a steadying one. Whether he would have taken kindly to pure metapsychological discussion is another matter. We know from his own writings that he occasionally had to overcome a certain inertia in digesting newly described mechanisms, and his interest in the psychology of regression might have tended to operate as an inhibiting factor. However that may be, one cannot put down his book without realizing that here is the work of a master craftsman whose untimely death has seriously delayed the progress of the science he made his own.

Edward Glover.

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Problems in Psychopathology. By T. W. Mitchell, M.D. The International Library of Psychology, Philosophy and Scientific Method. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., London, 1927. Pp. 190. Price 9*s*.)

This book consists of eight lectures, doubtless amplified, which were delivered before the British Institute of Philosophical Studies last year, and it was very well worth while to publish them in book form. We do not know anyone in the field of psychological medicine who has a more critical head than has Dr. Mitchell, and the present volume displays in ample measure his well-known qualities of lucidity, cool judgement and peculiar shrewdness.

The first chapter is devoted to pre-Freudian psychology and contains an interesting—though necessarily sketchy—account of the earlier development of psychopathology. The author justifies his devoting seven-eighths of his space to Freud's work on the score that this represents its dominance in present-day psychopathology. The chapters are headed: Freud and Psycho-Analysis, Theory of the Libido, the Ego in Freudian Psychology, Theory of the Instincts, Theory of the Neuroses, The Application of Medical Psychology, Survey of the Doctrines of Medical Psychology.

The best books, unfortunately, often have the shortest notices, for to criticize needs far more time than to praise. We have nothing but praise for Dr. Mitchell's book, which is a remarkably excellent presentation of the essentials of psycho-analysis. It is a book warmly to be recommended as an introduction to the subject, and it is also very well worth reading by the advanced student because it contains an important discussion of the latest work done in the subject.

The book is essentially a presentation of psycho-analysis. The only criticisms of psycho-analytical views to be found in it are contained in

Chapters IV and V, on the ego and the instincts respectively. These criticisms, which the reviewer considers to be well founded, are indeed rather in the nature of sympathetic reflections on certain difficulties. Dr. Mitchell finds it so difficult to unite the ego psychology with any theory of instincts that he suggests that it would be better to discard the term ' ego instincts ' ; in this connection he does not appear to have considered the present reviewer's attempt to bring these two branches into relationship with each other. He points, justly enough, to the various unsatisfactorinesses in the present position of psycho-analysis in regard to any theory of instinct and suggestively accounts for much of this by Freud's neglect of comparative psychology. We think he makes the confusion even greater than it need be by omitting to point out that most of Freud's conclusions are rather in terms of *Triebe* than of instincts in the English sense, and he could have usefully cleared some of the ground by discussion of the precise difference between these two conceptions, As a matter of perspective, we think Dr. Mitchell could have devoted more time to such topics as the vicissitudes in instinct-development and proportionately less to Freud's more personal speculations in regard to life- and death-instincts ; it is, by the way, certainly not true to say that ' all recent psycho-analytical writings make use of these speculations and of the new terminology introduced by Freud '. Dr. Mitchell is undoubtedly right in thinking that ' these conceptions do not at present form an essential part of psycho-analytic theory.' We will close by illustrating Dr. Mitchell's perspicacity in the following clear pronouncement : ' These conceptions—conflict and repression, the unconscious, infantile sexuality, and transference—seem to me to be the fundamental conceptions of psycho-analysis, and anyone who accepts them may be said to accept psycho-analytic teaching ' (p. 172). Altogether an extremely valuable production.

E. J.

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Father or Sons ? A Study in Social Psychology. By Prynce Hopkins, M.A., Ph.D. (London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd. Pp. xv + 252. Price 12*s.* 6*d.* net.)

In studying social phenomena and social problems it is the business of the psychologist, as it is not the business of the social reformer, or even, it would seem, of the sociologist, to register his results regardless of any personal political predilections. The data of the psycho-analyst furnish part, or should furnish part, of the material upon which statesmen base their activities. The psycho-analyst always understands that he is only supplying some portion and not the whole of the material for action, the importance of the material varying a great deal with the nature of the question under investigation. Those who wish to disregard the sociological implications of psycho-analysis usually ignore the limitations that the

psychologist makes. The critics claim that (1) social life cannot be organized entirely upon a sexual basis (to which the analyst says agreed); (2) that reform cannot await the studies of the psychologist (agreed); (3) that mankind has run its religions, its economics, its wars and its national relationships quite satisfactorily without the help of the psycho-analyst.

Our science is so new and the life of man so old and manifold that the poverty of the contributions made by psycho-analysts to sociological questions need occasion little surprise.

Dr. Prynce Hopkins' study is based upon an interesting and novel plan. He has selected some of the leading leit-motifs that psycho-analysis has revealed in the relationship father-son-father, and dividing these into contra-father and pro-father motives, has illustrated, by the analysis of a varied type of reformers, politicians, religious reformers, etc., the part played by the unconscious factors not only in the life of the reformer, but also in the development of the reforms advocated. Socialism, Conservatism, Humanitarianism, Religions of various kinds, all come under the author's analysis.

One of the most interesting investigations is that of Dr. P. P. Quinby, who is, Dr. Hopkins states, ' the true founder of Christian Science and of New Thought.'

Dr. Hopkins has been at great pains to examine at first hand a mass of authorities and biographies. He acknowledges that some of the instances cited to illustrate the influence of unacknowledged intentions have been strained. His case is so strong that in a second edition of the book it would lend to its value were these weaker strains to be deleted. There might be perhaps a pruning also in the quotations from other psycho-analysts. Dr. Prynce Hopkins has sufficient originality to stand by himself. The thesis has been approved for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of London.

M. D. Eder.

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An Easy Outline of Psycho-Analysis. By George Whitehead. (Herbert Jenkins. Pp. 120. Price 2*s.* 6*d.*)

This little book claims to be an outline of psycho-analysis, but the author does not seem to understand that psycho-analysis is a special method which was instituted by Freud for probing into the unconscious of his patients.

Thus, to quote from one chapter, ' By blending the conceptions of the various exponents of the new Psychology we will now attempt to obtain some idea of those forces which in conflict with themselves and outside repressions provide material for the neuroses '. This is the essence of his attitude to the subject. Hence his description is one which is made up

of the views of numberless authors, including himself. He is unable to agree with Freud's views on sex ; according to the author he goes to extremes.

Rather with Jung must the libido be looked upon as not merely sexual, but as a combination of the fundamental instincts and emotions which he enumerates according to McDougall.

Where Freud's views are discussed the author shows himself to be not fully conversant with the subject, and it may be said that the book could leave the uninitiated reader seeking for information, only with an entirely confused and erroneous idea of what psycho-analysis means.

Warburton Brown.

*

A.B.C. of Jung's Psychology. By Joan Corrie. (London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd. Pp. 85. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.)

The writer, distressed because people still go on confounding the work of Freud and Jung, has done well to give the general reader this abstract of Jung's analytical psychology. Considering the difficulties—Jung is really almost incomprehensible in tabloid form—Miss Corrie may be complimented on her success. In an abstract of this kind we must not expect to find any evidence for the statements made. Jung's famous four types still remain all unmoved by the criticism of the psycho-analyst that the introvert and extrovert represent an infantile clinging to the pleasure in retention or evacuation, that is, acquired traits which are relinquishable : a psychological type must be something fixed.

Much of the interpretation of dreams the writer instances as Jungian interpretation will be, of course, familiar in the daily work of the psycho-analyst, who, it is needless to say, is not negligent of the present movement. Jung most frequently, we are told, regards sexual images occurring in dreams as symbolic. This attitude, it is said, is ' more reasonable ' than Freud's, because the ' urge of the creative principle is apt to be expressed by sexual symbols '. I suspect by ' more reasonable ' is meant more pleasing to nice-minded people. Judging from this A.B.C., Jung's psychology has stood the shock of war extremely well ; it remains just where it was in 1913.

M. D. Eder.

*

Woman. (Wie bist du Weib ?) A Treatise on the Anatomy, Physiology, Psychology, and Sexual Life of Woman. With an Appendix on Prostitution. By Dr. Bernard A. Bauer (Vienna). Translated by E. S. Jerdan, B.A., LL.B., and Norman Haire, Ch.M., M.B. (Jonathan Cape, Ltd., London. Pp. 413. Price 25*s.*)

This book is divided into five sections, respectively, The Female Body and its Functions, The Psychology of Woman, The Sexual Life of Woman, The Erotic Life of Woman, and Woman and Marriage. It ranges widely

over the innumerable problems of sexuality in connection with woman, from the crippled feet of the Chinese and superstitions about menstruation to the endless questions of prostitution and marriage. The book is a very detailed one, and contains a large store of interesting information. Anyone who has not access to any other books dealing with these topics would find a fund of interest in the present one.

The author is by profession a gynæcologist in Vienna and is apt to flounder when he passes from the physical to the psychological problems of women. As is usual in such books, the ethical tendencies are prone to outweigh the scientific ones. We would call attention, for example, to the astonishing last sentence in the following passage: 'We human beings, who have the godlike gift of reason and are far above the lower animals, should never forget our superiority and sink to becoming slaves of animal lust. We should submit to this slavery—which it *always* is from the ethical point of view—only when we are fulfilling the purpose of Nature, the continuance of the race. Where in the world is the man who could love his own child, his own flesh and blood, if he had procreated it without any feeling, without any sense of responsibility to the world and to the race' (pp. 341–342).

The name of Freud and the word 'psycho-analysis' do not appear in the book.

E. J.

*

Sexual Apathy and Coldness in Women. By Walter M. Gallichan. (London: T. Werner Laurie, Ltd. Pp. 183. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.)

It is all to the good that laymen step in where doctors fear to tread, provided they write with the good sense and with the moderation of the writer of this book. Sexual anæsthesia is extremely common in women. In the main its causes are to be found in the unconscious mental life; but it is certainly true, as Mr. Gallichan contends, that the whole social structure of our day—that is, of the Occidental world—aggravates the condition even where there is a serious unconscious factor, and determines it for many when the unconscious factors are minimal. I do not know what evidence the author has for attributing sexual anæsthesia to heredity. That the cold mother has cold children may be a correct observation, but we have knowledge sufficient about the origin of the psychoneuroses and of character formation to absolve heredity as the sole, or even the chief agent. Probably by 'genuine congenital sexual frigidity' the author understands some anatomical or physiological abnormality. That a good deal of marital discomfort and unhappiness could be removed by a better knowledge of our sexual life is undoubtedly true. Even with this corrected there will be quite sufficient sexual trouble to provide handsome livelihoods for many generations of doctors, lawyers and writers. If occasionally Mr. Gallichan seems to be satisfied with too simplistic an analysis of the

sexual life of women and men, his book should help the general woman—maid, matron or mother—to a better understanding of her emotional life, to a less hesitant and less shamefaced acceptance, for herself and her partner, of the facts of sex.

M. D. Eder.

✶

A Synthetic Psychology : or, Evolution as a Psychological Phenomenon. By Percy Griffith, M.Inst.C.E., M.I.Mech.E., F.G.S., R.San.I. (John Bale, Sons & Danielson, Ltd., London. Pp. 214. Price 7*s.* 6*d.* net.)

The aim of this book is, according to the author, ' to discover the purpose of Mind in Man ' (p. 165). This purpose, we are told, is to attain ' a union of the human mind with the mind in nature ' (p. 205), that is, with ' the Divine or perfect Mind, of which the material universe is the expression ' (p. 156). Thus Mr. Griffith's cosmological theory is the generalization of his private wish to re-introject his animistically conceived external world.

Mr. Griffith devotes a chapter to psycho-analysis. In it we are told that the Reality Principle represents ' the progressively-acquired knowledge of right and wrong ', and that it is ' dynamically directed to the repression of ' the Pleasure Principle. Analysts will be interested to hear that ' the popularity of the scheme is due, firstly, to the ethical elements which are accepted as the essential basis of mental life, and secondly, to the prominence given to sexual desires as representing *all* that is implied by the term " pleasure principle " ' (p. 19).

But Mr. Griffith has evidently refrained from an extensive study of psycho-analytical literature, which he regards as often ' of a pornographic character published under the mask of " science ", or " psychology ", and thus uncensored either by legal authority or public opinion (p. 180) '.

R. Money-Kyrle.

✶

An Experiment with Time. By J. W. Dunne. (London : A. & C. Black, Ltd., 1927. Pp. 208. Price 8*s.* 6*d.*)

This work does not call for lengthy comment here, since (to quote the author's own words) it ' is not a book about what is called " psycho-analysis " '. But it is interesting enough in its own way. It contains the account of certain observations which tend to show that our experience at a given moment can to some extent be influenced by our own future experience. The author's attention was first directed to the matter by certain striking dreams, some elements of which presented a startling resemblance to waking experiences that followed shortly afterwards. He then proceeded to a more systematic investigation of dreams and found his impressions corroborated, both as regards his own dreams and those

of a few other observers who collaborated with him. Finally he proceeded to investigate the question whether the same reference to the future could be discovered in waking experience. His procedure took the form of trying to anticipate—by means of a process somewhat resembling free association—the events of a novel he was about to read. As this was not very successful, he subsequently modified this procedure by glancing at the first page, so as to have the name of one of the characters in the book, whereupon greater success was obtained.

The results both in dreaming and in waking life were often extremely suggestive, but as everything depends upon estimating the likelihood or unlikelihood of the coincidences being due to ' chance ' or to some other already recognized influences (such as the connection between dreams as expressions of a ' wish ' and subsequent actions due to the same ' wish '), it is much to be regretted that a full and detailed account of the whole of the dream material and the whole of the free associations is not given. Indeed the author would probably have been better advised to have devoted more space to the detailed description of his observations—especially with a view to indicating more fully the relative frequency of successes and failures—and less to the elaborate (and as some may think, premature) theoretical exposition which occupies the whole of the second half of the book. Nevertheless the work has the merit of describing clearly certain experimental procedures, along which the author's conclusions could easily be controlled by other observers.

J. C. F.

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Primitive Man: His Essential Quest. By John Murphy, D.Litt. (Oxford University Press, London, 1927. Pp. 341. Price 15*s*.)

It is our function here to review only the relations between the contents of a given book and psycho-analysis, otherwise it would be a pleasure to dally on the numerous interesting features of the present volume. It is an attempt to deal with social anthropology from a psychological point of view, one which will be greeted sympathetically by any psycho-analyst. In the preface Dr. Marett writes appositely that ' if the so-called diffusionist school had its way, no room would be left for the psychologist within the four corners of the subject. But, surely, such a one-sided attitude is simply absurd. Suppose it were true, as they contend, that genuine origination is rare, and men live mostly by imitation. Even so, every act of borrowing has two aspects, of which one—and, in my opinion, far the more important—is essentially a matter for psychological consideration '.

The author ranges widely over the problems of instinct, intelligence, reasoning, the formation of primitive concepts and religion. He deals in always an interesting manner with the important topics of taboo, causality

and magic, magic and religion, the theories of Lévy-Bruhl, Durckheim, etc. His predilections are decidedly philosophical and religious, and he seeks to find the key to the various problems concerned in what he terms ' Man's quest for unity '. There is little doubt that he would have been able to deal more profoundly with this tendency towards unification if he had made some study of the psycho-analytical work that has been done on mental disintegration and mental harmony, for in that the motives acting both for and against mental unification have been extensively elucidated.

The only reference to psycho-analytical work is a couple of pages where a very garbled account is given of Freud's theory of totemism. A host of objections is brought against that theory, such as that it participates too much of the Rousseau social contract idea, that the tragedy it implies might hold good for one family but not for many, that there is no evidence of cannibalism amongst the lowest races, etc. He states that ' the theory has to meet the formidable objection that the most primitive societies are matriarchal in character ', making no mention of the present reviewer's exhaustive consideration of this objection. If, as is indicated by the first objection mentioned, the author regards Freud's theories as too intellectualistic, what are we to make of his own views about the significance of the savage's dread of incest ? He refers, for example, to ' the almost instinctive tendency to out-breeding, which we believe represents in man nature's preference for cross-fertilization in the interests of greater variability ' (p. 172) and elsewhere speaks of the obvious survival value of this dread.

E. J.

BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL ASSOCIATION

EDITED BY

ANNA FREUD, GENERAL SECRETARY

I

Report of the Tenth International Psycho-Analytical Congress

The Tenth International Psycho-Analytical Congress was held at Innsbruck from September 1 to 3, 1927, Dr. Max Eitingon (Berlin) being President. The number of those present was 220, of whom 105 were members of the International Psycho-Analytical Association.

On the evening before the Congress opened a reception was held for those attending by the Vienna Psycho-Analytical Society at the Hotel 'Tiroler Hof', at which Dr. Paul Federn bade them welcome to Austria. The Vienna Society was most successful in its kindly efforts to make their stay at Innsbruck full of varied interest by arranging excursions in common and social meetings for members of the Congress. On the second evening of the Congress an official banquet was held.

Fräulein Dr. Salomea Kempner (Berlin) and Dr. Philipp Sarasin (Bâle) deserve special thanks for the way in which they devoted themselves to the laborious work of organization at the local office of the Congress.

On Thursday, September 1, 1927, Dr. Eitingon opened the Congress as follows :—

Ladies and Gentlemen,—In opening the Tenth Psycho-Analytical Congress I am acting in the place of one to whom, at our last Congress, we had hoped for long to entrust the helm of our movement, our late President, Karl Abraham, of undying memory. He was with us at Homburg, after recovering from a serious illness, and he looked such a picture of health that none of his friends could have detected that he already bore within him the seed of death.

Immediately on returning from the Congress he fell ill again and at Christmas, 1925, he succumbed to the illness against which he had put up such a hard fight. In the expressions of regret in which all our Branch Societies joined, it has been remarkable how all alike conveyed the same vivid, clearly defined picture of this man. I need not paint it again for you ; merely to name the name of Karl Abraham is to conjure up his living image. Pre-eminent in intellect, absolutely trustworthy, commanding respect by his courage towards his opponents and his loyalty to his friends, a leader in our difficult paths, the like of whom we shall hardly see again, the longer we are without him the more keenly do we feel his loss.

Karl Abraham must be vividly present to all those who attended our

former Congresses, as his slim figure with prematurely grey hair went about amongst us, always ready to speak when the problems which had arisen since we last met had to be formulated. And his formulations were usually classic and final, seldom provisional and soon to be demolished. There was something *aere perennius* in the scientific pronouncements of this man, himself inwardly so unshakeable, with his bronzed face as we saw him at the last Congress and as he has left an indelible impression in the memory of us all.

You all know the long list of his scientific works, dealing in logical sequence with the basic principles and the development of our most important problems and reaching up to the highest point in the structure of our science. And therefore one comes upon Karl Abraham, the man and his works, in every quarter of the psycho-analytic world to which the work of our time and the paths of our psycho-analytic thought conduct us.

We constantly noticed him, not only on the speaker's platform, but amongst the other members of the Congress, eloquent even when silent, often encouraging others by a genial flash of wit, relieving tension here, adjusting the balance there, tranquilizing, reconciling, harmonizing. His symbol might be that of the bridge for, at once firm and conciliatory, he was able to join those on opposite sides of a gulf, in a way of which hardly anyone else possesses the secret.

It was this which made him so pre-eminently fit to be the leader of a movement which, as it goes on, is bound to give birth to opposing and violently diverging elements. It would have been hard not to love him, and thus he succeeded in holding and binding us all together; and our attachment to him gave to our Association much of its stability in times of peace and security against too much surface-tension in stormier moments.

Therefore we shall always miss him, both in phases of quiet and in those of tension. Where shall we find one upon whom has fallen the mantle of Karl Abraham? There is one way which grief itself has shown us: from our identification with him we must derive the centripetal force which shall hold us together and in unity we shall find strength.

At this Congress we have with us for the first time representatives of a French group, the newly-formed Paris Psycho-Analytical Society, *et je suis heureux de vous saluer, chers confrères du pays d'adorable langue française.*

Our Congress this year is a Jubilee Congress. As the Tenth it is the last of a decade of Congresses, silent but ever-increasing mile-stones in a splendid progress, an unchecked march to the conquest of man, of humanity. If the names of Nürnberg, Weimar, Munich, Budapest, The Hague, Berlin, Salzburg, Homburg and Innsbruck do not actually represent the battlefields of Freud and of psycho-analysis, they at least bring in review before us what has been achieved and accomplished and they are a bugle-call to that onward march which we must always have in mind.

Since the Berlin Congress our master has been prevented by reasons of health from taking part in our assemblies. The present state of his health, however, encourages us to hope that we shall soon see him amongst us again. On May 6, 1926, I and some friends had the honour of delivering to him your good wishes on the occasion of his seventieth birthday. He then warned us, with his inimitable far-sightedness, not to over-estimate the success which seems to be beginning to crown our work and the recognition which at last is being accorded to psycho-analysis. He reminded us that the resistances to analysis are at heart still gigantic, and that the peaceable attitude of the scientific world represents tactics more or less consciously adopted.

Let us therefore keep to the tactics which have been ours hitherto and remember that even though psycho-analysis be advancing victoriously peace can only be made, in any future which we can foresee, under a new ' Fourteen Points ' agreement.

Let us hope that our Tenth Congress may in this sense be the first of a new decade of Psycho-Analytical Congresses, which shall testify to new work, new progress and new success.

Before we begin our first scientific meeting, I have something to tell you which will please you, namely, that Freud has sent a greeting to us in the form of a paper which is to be the first to be read to-day. It is on the subject of *Humour*, and is an amplification of his book on *Wit*. Its theme thus is specially appropriate to our discussion this morning.

And now, may our work prosper !

The Congress then entered upon the scientific discussions.

Scientific Meetings

Thursday, September 1, 1927. *Morning*

1. Professor Dr. Sigmund Freud (Vienna) : Humour (read by Fräulein Anna Freud).

2. Dr. Paul Federn (Vienna) : The place of narcissism in the structure of the eye.

3. Dr. Theodor Reik (Vienna) : The unconscious sense of guilt as a libidinal factor.

4. Dr. Edward Glover (London) : Some observations on suicidal mechanisms.

5. Dr. Helene Deutsch (Vienna) : Content, happiness and ecstasy.

6. Dr. Sándor Radó (Berlin) : The problem of melancholia.

7. Dr. K. Landauer (Frankfort-on-Main) : Notes on the psychology of mania.

Thursday, September 1, 1927. *Afternoon*

1. Dr. Karen Horney (Berlin) : The problem of the monogamous ideal.

2. Dr. E. Jones (London) : The development of female sexuality.

3. Dr. J. Hárnik (Berlin) : The economic relation between the sense of guilt and female narcissism.

4. Dr. Hanns Sachs (Berlin) : The bases of character-formation.

5. Dr. Franz Alexander (Berlin) : The neurotic character : its place in psychopathology and in literature.

6. Dr. Wilhelm Reich : On character-analysis.

Saturday, September 3, 1927. *Morning*

1. Dr. S. Ferenczi (Budapest) : The termination of analytic treatment.

2. Dr. I. Sadger (Vienna) : The results and the duration of psycho-analytical treatment.

3. Dr. René Laforgue (Paris) : The ' active ' or ' passive ' nature of psycho-analytic therapy.

4. Dr. Ernst Simmel (Berlin) : Fundamental principles of psycho-analytical treatment in institutions.

5. Melanie Klein (London) : Early stages of the Œdipus conflict.

6. Anna Freud (Vienna) : The theory of child-analysis.

7. Mary Chadwick (London) : Notes upon the fear of death.

Saturday, September 3, 1927. *Afternoon*

1. Dr. S. Weyl (Rotterdam) : The psychology of alcoholism.

2. Dr. Otto Fenichel (Berlin) : Organ-libidinal accompaniments of defence against the instinctual forces.

3. Dr. J. M. Eisler (Budapest) : A new point of view in the interpretation of dreams.

4. Dr. Géza Róheim (Budapest) : The earliest primitive peoples and the religion of the Andamanese pygmies.

5. Dr. Imre Hermann (Budapest) : Notes on logic.

MEETING OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRAINING COMMISSION

Wednesday, August 31, 1927. *Morning*

Dr. M. Eitingon, President of the International Training Commission, gave the following report :—

' Acting on the direction of the Homburg Congress, the first task undertaken by the President of the newly-appointed training Commission was to invite those of our Branch Societies which had not already formed training committees to proceed to do so.

' In Berlin, Vienna and London, where the societies had for a considerable time had a regular system of training, such committees already existed and, at our request, Committees were formed by three other societies, the Hungarian, the Dutch, and that of New York. The Pan-American Society followed their lead later.

' In the Indian Society, the question of a systematic training in analysis

does not as yet come into consideration. Our Russian colleagues, with Dr. Wulff at their head, are making valiant efforts to disseminate psycho-analytical knowledge, though so far, on account of their difficult situation, they have not been able systematically to take in hand the question of training in psycho-analysis.

'The Training Committee of the little Hungarian Society displays great activity. It holds courses of lectures for purposes of propaganda as well as of training, and seems to be able to meet the demand for psycho-analytical training in its own country with its own resources. This, I think, is the more praiseworthy seeing that its leader and protagonist has been absent for a year and has accomplished in America remarkable work, both extensive and intensive, for our cause.

'Owing probably to the peculiar conditions in their own country, the large New York Society has hitherto been mainly occupied with the problem of determining what are to be the qualifications necessary for admission to training. I will speak of this later.

'It is the duty of the International Training Commission to unify as far as possible the courses of training prescribed by the separate Societies, to give fresh inspiration to their work, and, above all, by linking up the local Training Committees to provide them with the support of a central authority. It has therefore been particularly gratifying to find that in the three large Societies of Berlin, London and Vienna, which already possess Institutes, the work is actually being carried out on very similar lines. The special conditions of each of these three countries have not weighed in the balance against the requirements arising out of the internal structure of our scientific theory and our practical work or against the inherent logic of our endeavours to impart the knowledge of the theory and practice of psycho-analysis to students of the subject. Before going into any further details I should like to emphasize the gratifying fact that these three Institutes can already act vicariously for one another, and that a training begun in London can be continued in Vienna and finished in Berlin or taken in any other order. For some years our friends in London found it very difficult and apparently incompatible with the Anglo-Saxon idea of liberty to subject a graduate, possibly one who held a medical degree, to a further examination as to his personal qualifications and possibly to reject him as unsuitable. Now, however, they too exercise a strict censorship in admitting their candidates. The "control" analysis, the necessity for which we felt it our duty so strongly to advocate at the last Congress, has been unanimously recognized as extremely important, and such analyses have been given, apparently without reservation, their due place in the courses of training. Frau Dr. Deutsch will speak about the technique employed in them, when she comes to discuss the details of our method of training.

'After the formation of the local Training Committees which I have mentioned, I addressed to all the Branch Societies, or their Training Committees, the following three questions, which were intentionally couched in a quite general form :

'(1) What conditions do you regard as necessary for the admission of candidates to training, especially in therapeutic psycho-analysis ?

'(2) What plan would you suggest for the complete course of training ?

'(3) What line would you take with candidates, otherwise suitable, who are unable to spend the necessary time in training and can only take part of the course ?

'In general, the Societies which answered these questions were those which already had Training Committees. The third question, relating to those who cannot take the whole course, must for the moment be deferred, for, though it is urgent from a practical point of view, it is nevertheless a question of exceptions. We must wait till we have come to an agreement at this first Conference of the International Training Commission upon the two principal questions : namely, that of the course of training as a whole, which will be dealt with in all its three stages by Drs. Radó, Sachs, and Deutsch, and that of the conditions of admission. In connection with this latter point I want to submit to you a resolution which I have already notified some time ago to the presidents of the different Societies.

'The question of conditions of admission has been incorrectly called (after one of the problems connected with it, which has become peculiarly pressing practically and has stirred up a great deal of feeling) the question of "lay analysis". We suggested to all the Societies that they should discuss this matter and we also opened a discussion, both in the *Zeitschrift* and in the JOURNAL, in which many took part and which we hope clarified our ideas on the subject and brought the different views nearer to an agreement.'

Dr. Radó then gave a survey of the building-up of the psycho-analytical curriculum, followed by Dr. Sachs and Frau Dr. Deutsch on 'Instructional Analysis' and 'Control Analysis' respectively. [These papers will be published in full.] Discussion was postponed till the next meeting of the International Training Commission.

Dr. Eitingon gave the following report on conditions of admission to training :[1] 'I had hoped that, when we invited our members to discuss the

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[1] My remarks on this subject are purposely one-sided, for they deal only with the considerations which make it desirable to restrict the admission of persons not medically qualified to training in therapeutic psycho-analysis. As I said in my contribution to the discussion on *Lay Analysis* in this JOURNAL, I regard it as obvious that the admission of lay persons to psycho-analytical training in general requires neither apology nor justification. The importance

conditions of admission to training in psycho-analysis (a question otherwise called Lay Analysis), they would understand why we constantly emphasized that what was in question was the training of therapeutic psycho-analysts, that is to say, the question of the so-called " lay practitioner ". I was sorry to see from the discussion that this point had not been clearly grasped, or at any rate was not kept in mind in what was written by many of those who took part in the discussion. There is no question of " laity " as such ; and Reik's witty observation in this connection that, where psycho-analysis is concerned, everyone who has not learnt it is a layman, is fairly obvious. Now why is it that there is for us no question of laity as such ? Surely, because nobody learns *pure* psycho-analysis, analysis as such. Psycho-analysis is the basis of our whole scientific thinking as well as of the particular work on which we may be engaged. But anyone who now takes a training in psycho-analysis generally does so with a quite definite practical intention. He desires, or this has mostly been the case hitherto, to train in the practice of therapeutic analysis. Educationists, too, begin to demand a systematic training from us for purposes of their own work, and we must be prepared for the legal professions approaching us in the near future with a view to some training which shall be of assistance to them in the practice of the law. To meet these demands we are now engaged with the problem of organizing instruction in analytic therapy, and this has raised the question of the layman in medicine. Soon we shall have that of the layman in education, and, later, that of the layman in the legal profession and perhaps other fields. So much for the formulation of the problem.

' Allow me once more to remark that an antithesis between analytical science and the laity has no intelligible meaning and ignores the salient point. Everyone will require a knowledge of the science of analysis who applies analysis to his particular field of investigation and activity, if he is to be thoroughly equipped for his sphere of work and well disciplined analytically.

' It was for this reason that, in my concluding remarks on the discussion on Lay Analysis in the *Zeitschrift* and the JOURNAL, I apparently disregarded everything which has no bearing on the question of psycho-analysis in connection with therapy. For this question is for us purely one of the proper technique of training and relates only to the training of practitioners of psycho-analytic therapy. After a thorough analytical training, who will be best equipped for his work with the many and various sick persons with whom we have to do ? It is by this question that we must steer our course.

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of the laity for the evolution of psycho-analysis both as a science and as a therapeutic method is too great and the history of our movement speaks too strongly in its favour for such to be necessary.—EITINGON.

'After the psychological *a priori* of personal suitability, as indicated by the level of personality and culture and especially by that peculiar reflective capacity for empathy which, with Freud, we term the organ for the unconscious, there comes an acquired *prius* of knowledge, which our analytical training itself cannot bestow but which it must regard as a prerequisite. It seems to me insufficient to speak only of the formal value of a training in natural science : it is simply a question of knowledge of facts and of a very comprehensive knowledge, seeing that (as has been said in the most authoritative quarter), many things are indispensable to the analyst, and very few are superfluous. I cannot understand how anyone, starting from the conviction that to the analyst in the intellectual as well as the affective sphere nothing human should be alien (that is, that he must be equipped with all possible knowledge of humanity), can at the same time underestimate the importance of the most comprehensive knowledge possible of human biology.

'I must once again point out that, though in the theory and practice of psycho-analysis we have to do with a new conception of illness, we are nevertheless dealing with an old familiar humanity, with its double, psycho-physical nature and with causes and results of illness which must be regarded not only from the psychological but also from the other, the physical side. With all due apology to the epistemologist I must assert that in practice we find both parallelism and the most complicated reciprocal action and, above all, the co-existence of both kinds of processes. There can be no question who is best equipped to deal with them. In isolated provinces of our work there are, of course, factors which are purely psychically conditioned, and here the person who has not a medical training need not feel the gaps in his knowledge and, within these limitations, he may attain a wonderful mastery of his subject. One of the most thoughtful of our non-medical colleagues has said that the analyst who has a medical training is more independent. More independent, I would add, of other limitations than those which for the time being confine our sphere of operations in general—more independent of reservations in connection with the choice of cases to be treated and, finally, more independent of what I have called the *symbiosis* of the non-medical analyst and the physician. How often do the circumstances, the outward conditions in which we work, make such dependence simply impossible.

'Hitherto I have purposely avoided referring in this practical, all too practical, question to our master. Freud's eyes are rightly fixed on ultimates and on the highest goals. But we, whose duty it is to preserve what he has created and, as far as we are able, to add to it, must be able in tranquil clarity of mind as to our motives to take upon us a certain odium, to appear to contract the orbit of his widely-conceived aims. Now, we who endeavour to realize his intentions would do so but ill if we disregarded

essential realities. In conclusion I may, however, quote a saying of his, in which he characteristically goes to the root of the matter. In his paper entitled *Concluding Remarks on the Question of Lay Analysis*, Freud says : " I admit that, so long as such schools do not exist as we desire for the training of analysts, persons who have received a medical training are the best material for the future analyst." This, exactly this and nothing else, is our standpoint as embodied in the resolution which I desire to lay before you '.

Dr. Eitingon then proposed the following resolution :

'(1) That Congress instruct the Training Committees of the Branch Societies to lay stress upon the importance of possessing or acquiring a full medical training to candidates who present themselves for training in psycho-analytic therapy. But that no candidate shall be rejected solely on the ground of lack of medical qualifications, provided that he is personally specially well fitted to become a practising analyst and that he possesses an equivalent preliminary scientific training.

'(2) Apart from this fundamental principle, it shall be open for each Branch Society to lay down independently its conditions for admission to training. In the case of foreign candidates the Training Committees shall take into account not only their own regulations but those of the Training Committee of the particular candidate's native country. When a foreign candidate has been accepted for training, the Training Committee in his own country shall be notified. Objections to any candidate shall be laid before the International Training Commission.'

Dr. Eitingon's report was followed by a detailed discussion. Amongst others the following spoke : Drs. van Ophuijsen, Ernest Jones, Oberndorf, Reich, Deutsch, Ferenczi, Simmel, Horney, Róheim, Hermann, Sachs, Radó and Rickman.

Various alternative and additional resolutions were proposed. Some of the speakers (van Ophuijsen, Frau Horney, Reich) wished to have the phrase ' an equivalent preliminary training ' of lay candidates exactly defined. Frau Dr. Deutsch suggested that lay candidates might be accepted if their profession, as well as their personal qualifications, rendered them particularly fit for the work. Dr. Oberndorf took the view that the American Societies could not in any circumstances admit lay candidates to training as therapeutic analysts, on account of the conditions in America. Finally Dr. Oberndorf's proposal was unanimously adopted, namely, that the resolution which the International Training Committee should place before the Congress should take the following form :

' The Congress *recommends* the Training Committees of the Branch Societies to lay stress upon the importance of possessing or acquiring a full medical training to candidates who present themselves for training in psycho-analytic therapy. But no candidate shall be rejected solely on

the ground of lack of medical qualifications, provided that he is personally specially well fitted to become a practising analyst and that he possesses an equivalent preliminary scientific training.'

Dr. Jones proposed that to the resolution as thus embodied paragraph 2 of Dr. Eitingon's proposed resolution should be appended and only the first sentence of this paragraph be deleted. Drs. Radó, Ferenczi, Róheim and others pointed out that paragraph 2 of Eitingon's resolution presupposed the enforcement of the regulation contained in paragraph 1 on the subject of the admission of lay candidates. In the new wording of paragraph 1 now adopted the regulation would not be binding, and Dr. Radó therefore proposed that the decision about paragraph 2, that is about the co-operation of the different Societies in this matter, be postponed. His proposal was carried.

Preliminary Business Meeting of the Officers of the Association

Wednesday, August 31, 1927. *Morning*

With Dr. Eitingon in the chair all the points in the agenda for the business meeting were considered in detail and prepared for the decision of the Congress.

Business Meeting of the Congress

Friday, September 2, 1927. *Morning*

The President, Dr. Eitingon, opened the meeting and announced that the following telegram to the Congress had been received from Professor Freud: 'Warmest thanks to the Tenth Congress of Psycho-Analysts for their greeting to me in my enforced absence.

'I wish you success in your scientific work, and I hope that a feeling of community in your endeavours will enable you to unite in practical problems'.

This telegram was read amidst enthusiastic applause.

The minutes of the previous Congress were read and confirmed. The President then gave the following report:

'Ladies and Gentlemen, before we proceed to consider the work which has been done in the Psycho-Analytic movement since our last Congress, we must call to mind what has happened to us ourselves—the losses which we have suffered—and we must perform an act of piety to our fellow-workers. In the period under review death has exacted from us more sacrifices than ever before in a similar period. The first to go was our President, teacher and friend, Karl Abraham, whose memory is undying and whose place can never be filled. He was familiar to us all, not only to those who were intimately associated with him, though even they see with wonder how this figure becomes more and more impressive to us. This is not the result of his being withdrawn from us but of our immediate

sense that we miss him always and everywhere, and as yet we cannot feel that one person or many can make up to us for his loss.

'In James Glover our English Society has lost one of its most eminent and active members. The literary memorial which in masterly style Jones has raised to him in his obituary memoir, gives even those who did not know Glover some idea of the full extent of the loss which we have all sustained through the cutting-off of a man so highly gifted and so full of creative energy. Our Dutch Society has had to deplore two deaths, following in swift succession. It has lost Meyer, one of its oldest members, who was for many years Secretary of the Society, and soon afterwards came the death of Van der Chijs, to whom our former Congresses and our literature are indebted for very interesting and stimulating contributions. In New York Polon has died—one of the most promising of the younger members, and some weeks ago we in Berlin lost our colleague Koerber, one of the founders of the Berlin Society and one of the kindest and most lovable of men, who, after a long experience in psycho-therapy, included psycho-analysis amongst his many-sided medical and human activities.

'Let us rise to our feet as a mark of grateful respect to the memory of our late colleagues.

'Life has also turned to us a hopeful side. I am glad to be able to tell you that Dr. van Emden, who was most constant in his attendance at our Congresses and who many of us are now missing with regret, is on the way to complete recovery from the serious illness which was causing us anxiety.

'The number of members of the International Psycho-Analytical Association has steadily risen. At the time of the Berlin Congress they numbered 239, at Salzburg 263, at Homburg rather more than 300. At the present time there are 360 members, but as a matter of fact our numbers are still larger, for this does not include the newly-formed French Society, which has been admitted to our Association by the Central Committee provisionally, while awaiting your ratification. Moreover, a new American Society has been formed in Washington, and you will be asked to vote on its admission also.

'The regular reports in the Bulletin show how active the different Societies have been. The creation of the International Training Commission was designed to give a fresh impulse to the work of instruction in psycho-analysis, and, in connection with the questions of training, an old problem, as you know, which badly needed clearing up, has been discussed most eagerly in all the Societies. I refer to the question of "Lay Analysis".

'The first Psycho-Analytical group in a new country, namely France, is now entering into the circle of our Branch Societies. It was in France, just forty years ago, that Freud received from Charcot his first ideas about the psychogenesis of the neuroses. Now in Paris there has arisen a small but very promising psycho-analytical group, which has immediately

taken the field with a journal of its own. After long and persevering preparation, our colleagues, whom you all know, Laforgue and Sokolnitzka and Princess Marie of Greece, have assembled a small group of analysts who have already been trained in Paris, and there are plain indications that round this nucleus others will gather. The above-named workers have been staunchly supported by Odier and de Saussure of Geneva, and Dr. Löwenstein, who has removed from Berlin to Paris.

'In the countries of the older Psycho-Analytical Societies analysis continues to make progress, as is proved by the increase in our membership. Here and there the fashionable clamour which was raised on the subject of psycho-analysis seems somewhat to have subsided, and this is a good thing, for fashions are not only noisy but short-lived. Though the old resistances continue, the general attitude towards us is visibly more serious. You must forgive me if this sounds like a criticism. The publicity given to the subject in German scientific circles is the best illustration of this. Not only two psycho-therapeutic congresses, but also a medical congress, have recently gone thoroughly into the question of psycho-analysis. We know that there are symptoms of a change, and shall beware of over-valuing such indications. We have received a vivid reminder of past times in the fact that, quite recently, a very notable German physician, neither a psychiatrist nor a neurologist, in a certainly not very serious attempt at a rapprochement with analysis has, if not actually burnt his fingers, greatly damaged his scientific reputation.

'In Russia, one of the older countries to interest itself in analysis, the circle which has really gone further into the subject has grown. We shall all understand that our colleagues there are working under very difficult conditions, and I should like in the name of us all to express our deep sympathy with them.

'On the eternally virgin soil of America, with its great receptivity for the newest and "very latest", our colleagues are finding it for that very reason difficult to control and ensure a steady deepening of psycho-analytical knowledge and skill.

'England, as well as Germany and Austria, has now its own Training Institute, which, greatly to our satisfaction, was opened on Professor Freud's seventieth birthday, May 6, 1926. In these countries the chief activity tends more and more to centre in the Institutes, and naturally it is mostly the younger generation which imperiously demands to be instructed in the discoveries of analysis, since such teaching is not given elsewhere as yet, or at any rate not in the right way. An exception to this tendency is apparently to be found in Hungary, where the young people appear to be more conservative. Well, we analysts know that there is no period in life at which one is secure from regressions.

'In Italy our friends Levi-Bianchini and Edoardo Weiss have assembled

a number of physicians and savants who are interested in psycho-analysis. They form a kind of Psycho-Analytical Guild. Let us hope that this will later result in a Branch Society ! In Siebenbürgen, in New Roumania, a small group is already doing theoretical and practical work in psycho-analysis.

'You probably know that the Berlin Psycho-Analytical Society was transformed at the beginning of 1926 into the German Psycho-Analytical Society. It has two local branches, the older one in Leipzig under the direction of Frau Dr. Benedek. A more recent branch was formed this year at Frankfort-on-Main under the guidance of Dr. Landauer and Frau Dr. Happel.

'At the last Congress we received directions to convey to Professor Freud in some appropriate manner the congratulations of the International Psycho-Analytical Association on his seventieth birthday. In fulfilment of this charge we raised a Jubilee Fund from our members, and on May 6 last year we handed it over to him to be used for psycho-analytical objects. He asked us to thank you all very warmly and to tell you that he will not have any more birthdays until he is eighty, or at least until he is seventy-five. We promised to give you his message, but we regarded it also as a promise on his part that he would give us many another opportunity of having the pleasure of thanking him for all we owe him '.

The presidents of some of the Branch Societies next gave short reports. Dr. Federn stated that in Vienna scientific work was being done not only at the meetings of the Society but at the ' Therapeutic Seminar ' conducted by Dr. Reich and the so-called ' Children's Seminar ' which reviews the literature. He reported further that Professor Freud is once more personally directing the work, monthly scientific meetings being held at his house as an extension of the Council Meetings.

In London too, according to Dr. Jones' report, the work is divided into the scientific activity of the Society and the work of the Institute in training, propaganda, publishing and translation.

Dr. Oberndorf reported that in New York, besides the scientific research work, training and instruction are being enthusiastically carried on.

Dr. Simmel explained the reasons for the transformation of the Berlin Psycho-Analytical Society into the German Psycho-Analytical Society. He gave an account of the work of the local branches at Leipzig and Frankfort-on-Main, and of the German Society's celebration of Professor Freud's seventieth birthday. Dr. Landauer reported also the propaganda work being done in South Germany for psycho-analysis (meetings in Frankfort-on-Main, educational conference at Stuttgart, publication of a journal of psycho-analytical pedagogy). According to Dr. Ferenczi, though there is no great sign of outward progress in Hungary, the progress with the psycho-analytical group is the more intensive.

Dr. Müller-Braunschweig, Treasurer to the Association, gave the financial report as follows :

After the Homburg Congress the funds of the International Association amounted to 2,030 marks, at the end of 1926 to 3,170 marks, and at the present time to 4,297 marks. From this the expenses of the present Congress, not as yet estimated, would have to be deducted, when the balance would amount to about 3,500 marks. Of an expenditure of 1,590 marks, 1,280 marks were paid for the printing of the *Bulletin*. The balance went to defray the expenses of the Central Executive, especially in connection with the memorials to the late members.

All the Branch Societies had paid their contributions, with the exception of the Russian Society, whose subscriptions had been collected but, owing to practical difficulties, not yet handed over. The Hungarian Society, which on past occasions had paid a smaller contribution, was now paying the same amount as all the other Societies, namely 2 dollars a head. The subscription of membership, which was paid by every member, was now made up as follows : (*a*) contribution to the International Association, (*b*) contribution to the particular Branch Society, (*c*) obligatory subscription to one of the journals.

The Treasurer's report was adopted.

Frau Dr. Helene Deutsch gave the following report of the Training Institute of the Vienna Psycho-Analytical Society :

' The Institute feels that it can look back on a record of successful work during the last two years. We may safely say that already much of the organization is functioning automatically, so that all the energy which had at first to be devoted to contending with external and internal difficulties and to organizing of work can now be applied to the real object for which the Institute exists : that of instruction.

' The Institute having been in existence for two and a half years, the first five students have now finished their training and left. Of these five three possessed medical qualifications and two were lay students.

' Besides these five there are now twenty students at the Institute in various stages of training.

' Of these twenty, three are foreigners and the rest Austrians. The proportion of medically-qualified to lay students is 17 to 3. This proportion is a chance one and not due to any bias on the part of the Institute. The three non-medical students belong to professions in which their interest in analysis is particularly desirable, for they are engaged in educational or social work.

' The number of those on the waiting list, who cannot as yet be admitted to training, is 8. I should like here to remark that far the largest band of candidates is recruited from the ranks of young medical men who are interested in psychiatry. The programme which has already become

stereotyped for training, after the candidate's personal analysis, consists principally of well-organized practical work under the direction of the Institute. Similarly, our scheme of theoretical training has proved satisfactory. Besides the so-called " obligatory " courses of lectures we have tried the experiment of certain other courses and seminars, and these have been so successful that they have already become a standing institution ; there is always a good attendance at them. The obligatory lectures, which give the students their elementary theoretical grounding, are repeated when needed, i.e. as soon as a number of students have completed their personal analyses, which form the first stage in their training. Thus, this autumn the course which you will find on our syllabus will be begun for the second time since the founding of the Institute.

' I do not think that I am actuated simply by " family-narcissism " when I state that one of the most gratifying things in connection with the Training Institute is the keenness and genuine co-operation of the students. All the lectures and discussions have always a full attendance, and we may say that this extraordinary zeal on the part of the younger generation prevents the older analysts (the lecturers) from " growing stale ".

' The same zeal is exhibited in the students' desire for direction in their practical work. The " control-analyst " does not get a chance to neglect his duty even for a moment, so much is he under the control of his eager students ! It is just in this connection that we seem gradually to be profiting in clearness from our experience, so that the choice of cases and the technique of the " control-analysis " becomes increasingly certain and therefore simpler.

' During the last year the Institute has directed its energies towards propaganda more than heretofore. Frl. Freud, Fr. Schaxel, Dr. Aichhorn and Dr. Hoffer gave a course of lectures at the Institute, which were very well supported by just the people whose interest in psycho-analysis is most important : teachers, social workers, those who have the care of children, nurses and others. The work of propaganda also, which last year was done independently of the Institute, will be taken over by the Institute next year, when the lectures by Dr. Federn, Dr. Reich and Dr. Wälder, which are delivered at the Medical-Psychological Association, will be given also at the Institute, and thus the medical students who as yet have not approached psycho-analysis will be brought into touch with the Institute.

' I should like in conclusion to make an observation which I think may also be a suggestion. Our Institutes are all built up on the same ideas, and in the most essential points their programme is the same. Their international nature has not yet declared itself. It would be a great advantage if, by an interchange of students, this international character of the training could be expressed. By dividing the course into the students' personal analyses, their theoretical instruction and their practical training this

contact between the different training centres could easily be established. For instance, they could be analysed at one Institute, the second part of the training could be taken at another, and the third at yet another. This could be more easily arranged than an interchange of teachers, who are more or less bound to their centres of work. I hope that, at the next Congress, the suggestion I now make will be an accomplished fact.'

Dr. Jones reported as follows on the work of the London Institute :

'Through the munificence of Mr. Prynce Hopkins the Institute of Psycho-Analysis was enabled last year to open the Clinic which had been so urgently needed. Although the London Clinic of Psycho-Analysis, 36, Gloucester Place, W. 1, was officially opened with one patient on Professor Freud's seventieth birthday, May 6, 1926, building alterations delayed the full assumption of work until the autumn of that year. The present report is therefore based on the work of only nine months. The initial staff was appointed by the Institute of Psycho-Analysis at a meeting held on September 28, 1926, and consists of the following : Director, Dr. Ernest Jones ; Assistant Director, Dr. Edward Glover ; Physicians, Drs. D. Bryan, E. M. Cole, Eder, Herford, Inman, Sylvia Payne, Rickman, Riggall, and Stoddart.

'It was decided that all future appointments to the staff should be made by the staff itself. The Directors were empowered to appoint Clinical Assistants who undertake analysis under control, and up to the present have appointed the following : Drs. Brierley, Warburton Brown, Franklin, Penrose, A. Stephen, Weber and Wilson. With this staff we are able to undertake the treatment of about twenty-five patients daily.

'The Clinic is open for the reception of new patients once a week, and in the past nine months there have been just a hundred consultations. Of these ninety-five were considered suitable for psycho-analytic treatment. An analysis of the various conditions from which the patients were suffering will be given with the first complete report of the Clinic.

'Up to the present forty-one patients have commenced treatment at the Clinic. Seven of them broke off treatment within one month and eight at a later period. It is, of course, too early as yet to record positive results, but three patients who had begun treatment before the opening of the Clinic have already been cured and several others greatly benefited.

'The lectures delivered under the auspices of the Institute of Psycho-Analysis take place at the Clinic. Last year four courses were given : (1) J. C. Flugel, The Unconscious ; (2) Edward Glover, The Technique of Psycho-Analysis ; (3) the late James Glover, The Psychopathology of Anxiety States, Phobias and Obsessions ; (4) Ernest Jones, The Theory of Sexuality. It has been arranged that the regular training for psycho-analytical candidates should include eight courses of lectures, these covering a period of two years ; they are mainly attended after the candidate's personal

analysis has been completed. The training courses in question are (i) The Unconscious, (ii) Dream Interpretation, (iii) The Theory of Sexuality, (iv) Neuroses, (v) Technique, (vi) Child Analysis, (vii) Psychiatry, (viii) Mental Evolution of the Race. At the same time the candidates carry out " control " analyses, of which there are at present ten proceeding. These analyses are being controlled by Drs. Bryan, Edward Glover, Ernest Jones and Rickman.

' All meetings of the British Psycho-Analytical Society are held at the premises of the Clinic and its Library is also permanently housed there. Quarterly meetings of the staff of the Clinic are held to discuss working arrangements at the Clinic.

' I am able to report that so far, thanks mainly to the energy and devotion of the Secretary of the Institute, Dr. Rickman, the machinery of the Clinic has moved smoothly and efficiently. In short, we can only be pleased with the auspicious beginning that has thus been made.'

Dr. Eitingon gave the following report of the Berlin Psycho-Analytical Institute :

' At the Homburg Congress I gave such a short account of the Institute that it has been difficult this time to resist the temptation of giving you more detailed statistics as to the results of our work and its duration in the different cases. I should have liked, too, to describe fully what we find in our therapeutic work to be the relation between the time expended and the result attained and, as I have now a longer period to review, I should have more material upon which to base my remarks.

' I have, however, for a long time been thinking of giving at some future date a more detailed account of our Institute and of late my time has been greatly taken up by other work in connection with our movement. I have therefore given up the idea of a full report on this occasion and shall simply give a brief summary, as before.

' In the period between April, 1924, and July, 1927, 831 persons in all have come to the Institute desiring to be analysed. Of these, 264 have been given analytic treatment. This material would have been sufficient to satisfy greater pretensions than we actually make, and I think I am justified in summarizing the facts, which have long been familiar to the more experienced of us, by saying that the results of our therapeutic work will bear comparison with those of other forms of treatment which necessitate considerable apparatus and are tried in serious chronic diseases, e.g. in tuberculosis, and that the comparison is in our favour. Our success is in simple, direct and progressive relation to the time devoted to the treatment ; the fuller and the deeper the success, the longer does the treatment take. Seen against the background of our results, attained at so great an expenditure of time by different analysts, many of whom are practitioners of long standing, all hyper-ingenious attempts to shorten the treatment appear what they actually are, forcible interventions—artificial, ephemeral

and, since they effect nothing, wholly unjustified. For such attempts neglect the logic of the pathological processes with which we have to deal and are simply more or less skilful rationalizations.

'There have been only a few alterations in our staff. We were very sorry to lose Dr. Löwenstein, who has gone to Paris. Dr. A. Gross, who took his place, went this spring to the Psycho-Analytical Clinic formed by Simmel: Sanatorium Schloss Tegel. The gap caused by Dr. Gross' departure was filled by Dr. Witt.

'In accordance with the old, strong therapeutic tradition of our Institute we are continuing to lay great stress on our therapeutic work, although my colleagues have increasing demands made on their energies by the building-up of our system of training. During the period under review there has been an average of eighty-five analyses in progress. You will realize what a large number of hours a week these demand when I remind you that each patient at the Institute normally comes for four hours a week. This big piece of work has been shared by myself, my seven Assistants at the Institute, and some ten of our older students, together with fifteen or sixteen members of our Psycho-Analytical Society. I am deeply indebted to them all for their untiring devotion.

'As regards our training-activities we have had to revise the programme of our theoretical instruction and, above all, to consider the possibilities of practical training. 'Control' analyses have long since established themselves in our scheme. Those who are engaged in this branch of the training are trying to arrive at a clear idea of the requisite technique. Much is, and naturally must be, still in flux, and the same is true of the didactic side of the students' personal analyses. The International Training Committee acts as a central body for dealing with these problems and bringing into harmony the experience of individuals. After trying it for some time, we in Berlin have decided that a Seminar in technique is a very good plan, and this is now obligatory for all our advanced students. Those amongst the younger members of our Society who care to do so also apparently enjoy attending it, and both they themselves and the students profit by their presence.

'Our notices in the *Bulletin* have kept you informed of the lectures and other activities of our Institute.'

Dr. Hitschmann then made a report on the Clinic of the Vienna Psycho-Analytical Society. For reasons of practical convenience, this is now separate from the Training Institute. Dr. Hitschmann said:

'The Vienna Clinic is now in its sixth year. So many patients attend it that many who are in urgent need of treatment have to be refused. Besides a full-time Assistant we have appointed two junior physicians for half-time work, and a third is working at a salary for the same time. We are still

suffering from lack of accommodation, the rooms being at our disposal only in the afternoons.

'The need for more accommodation is urgent, for our members are increasing owing to the admission of students for training. Besides this, the rush of patients demands a larger staff. In both directions we want to extend our work to whole-time. We hope soon to achieve this end, for we have received generous support through Professor Freud from his birthday fund, and we have received gifts also from America. The instruction of the students at the Institute is outside the sphere of our Clinic, but we keep up our evening meetings for reports on cases. Thanks to Dr. Reich, these evening discussions have developed into Seminars on therapeutic technique: they are remarkably well attended, and the work done is very thorough. They have produced some valuable publications. The difficulties of the beginners help us clearly to realize the need for instruction in individual and detailed technique. These evenings devoted to technical discussion meet this very need—not only the students, but nearly all the members of the Society take part in them.

'I will not give statistics of the results of our treatment, but will simply state that forty to fifty cases are treated daily.'

A. J. Storfer gave a short account of the work of the *Internationaler Psycho-Analytischer Verlag*. He stated that the increasing interest in psycho-analysis was plainly reflected in the increase in the sale of books. In particular, a livelier interest is manifested amongst teachers and trainers of the young. The *Verlag der Zeitschrift für psychoanalytische Pädogogik* co-operates in its administration with the *Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag*.

Dr. Rickman reported on the work of the Psycho-Analytical Press in London:—

Fresh translations of works by Freud and Ferenczi have appeared. The publication of Freud's *Collected Papers* has been continued. An index of the whole of psycho-analytical literature is in preparation. The speaker asked all German authors who wish their works to be translated into English to communicate with the Press *before* any English translation is undertaken.

Dr Radó, as editor of the two German official journals of the Association, announced that in future, in order to meet the increasing requirements, the Journals will be rather larger in volume. This will involve a trifling addition to the amount of the subscription. The Congress gave its consent to this.

The next item on the agenda was *Admission of New Branch Societies*. Dr. Eitingon made the following announcement: The Committee has received two proposals for admission. The one refers to the French group in Paris under the direction of Dr. Laforgue. This Society has already been

provisionally admitted by the Committee, who now ask the Congress to vote on the permanent admission of the French group.

This proposal was carried unanimously. Dr. Laforgue thanked the Congress in the name of the new Society.

With regard to the Washington Psycho-Analytical Society, the President announced that at the advisory meeting of the officials of the International Psycho-Analytical Society, at which Dr. Ferenczi and Dr. Oberndorf warmly recommended the new American Society, it was agreed to assure that Society of the Association's great interest in their work and to ask them to give the Association every opportunity to become more intimate with them before the next Congress, when they would be admitted as a Branch Society.

Dr. Jones proposed that the Congress should authorize the Executive to admit the Washington Psycho-Analytical Society provisionally, if occasion should arise, before the next Congress. Dr. Oberndorf seconded the motion. The proposal was carried.

Dr. Eitingon reported on the meeting of the International Training Commission, which had been held on the previous day. He submitted to the Congress the resolution then agreed upon (see p. 140). The resolution was carried with two dissenting voices.

Dr. Jones moved the following resolution: 'When foreign candidates present themselves for training the Training Committees of both countries concerned shall beforehand arrive at an agreement concerning their admission'. He gave as the reason for this proposal the necessity for respecting the special conditions of the different countries.

This proposal led to a very lively discussion, in which many speakers took part, some of them speaking several times. In the course of the discussion several other resolutions were suggested.

Drs. Oberndorf, Coriat and Kardiner united in emphasizing the fact that the situation in the United States with regard to psycho-analysis differs fundamentally from that in Europe. The law of the land, as well as the character of those aspiring to the profession of analyst, makes it necessary for the American Societies to insist on medical qualifications.

Frl. Anna Freud wished to know how far reciprocity existed between the different Societies with reference to the respecting of important decisions. She asked the American members whether a full lay member of the Vienna Society, e.g. she herself, would have the right to full membership of an American Society. Dr. Oberndorf, as a member of an American Society, replied that a lay member of a Continental Society could become a guest but not a member of the existing American Societies.

Dr. Ophuijsen explained the necessity for adopting Jones' resolution. He said that in Holland the few candidates who presented themselves for training are advised to go to one of the Training Institutes which exist

abroad. But if a Dutch physician were trained abroad, without being first known to the Dutch Society, it might lead to great unpleasantness if it turned out later that the person concerned was objected to by the Dutch Society. Matters would be still worse in the case of a lay person. So long as he did not openly announce that he had trained at one of our Institutes, he would be able to practise therapeutic analysis in Holland without let or hindrance, but if he made it known that he was so trained, the Society would be compelled by law to proceed against him and would therefore come into regrettable conflict with other groups.

Dr. Federn pointed out that this very example showed that the Societies opposed to the admission of lay candidates desired, in spite of the resolution just adopted, to reject otherwise suitable persons *solely* on the ground of lack of a medical degree. No one could prevent the Dutch Society, for example, from prohibiting a lay-analyst trained abroad from practising in Holland, but the Dutch Society could not demand of the Institutes in Vienna or Berlin that simply because he was Dutch they should abstain from training a candidate who fulfilled their requirements. He asked whether differences of opinion arising out of the rejection of disputed cases could not be settled by compulsory arbitration. Dr. Ferenczi said that he thought it contrary to the spirit of psycho-analysis to demand that the Training Institutes should be deprived of their right of deciding on the suitability of candidates, simply because these belonged by birth to another country. He proposed that for the moment a decision as to Jones' resolution should be postponed.

Frau Dr. Horney said that she thought the best way of coming to an agreement would be to refrain for the moment from voting on Jones' resolution and, instead, to try to define precisely what was meant by the words 'an equivalent preliminary training' which occurred in the resolution they had adopted. She therefore moved the following resolution :

'That the Congress should direct the Training Committees to draw up regulations for the preliminary training and the further analytical training of non-medical candidates, and therein to define exactly what is meant by a preliminary training "equivalent to" that of medicine. And that a decision as to the ensuring of co-operation between the separate Societies be deferred until this has been done'.

Dr. Sachs said that, in view of the great distance between the different groups, for example between the European Societies and the American, it was not feasible to carry out Jones' resolution. He felt that it would be injurious to candidates who were waiting to hear whether they were accepted. A decision could be arrived at only by mutual confidence.

Dr. Friedjung suggested that members should be more straightforward with one another in this matter, and said that the possibility must not be

overlooked that latent egoistic interests were at work in this discussion. Dr. Landauer and Dr. Nunberg argued that what had been said about existing local conditions was by no means conclusive and that people's attitudes to a given situation and their behaviour in it might differ greatly. The infringement of regulations and legal enactments which no longer corresponded to conditions which had changed might lead to revision.

Dr. Radó said that Jones' advice that a policy of agreement should be laid down ought to be taken to heart. There was only one way by which this could be attained: namely, the regulation by the International Psycho-Analytical Association itself of conditions of admission to training and of the course of training in general. This international regulation should also be extended to all the special conditions which have to be laid down for individual countries in view of the local situation. It was most desirable that the Societies should consider and form opinions on one another's peculiar local conditions, and, with mutual goodwill, this must lead to ultimate unity. If such an international Statute existed, it would be a matter of course that in the case of foreign candidates the regulations in force in their native country should be respected by all the Societies, for every group would take part in advising and deciding upon such points. He therefore proposed the following resolution:

'That the Congress direct the International Training Commission to draw up and lay before it a scheme of conditions of admission to training for the profession of therapeutic analysts and of the whole course of psycho-analytical training in general, and, in particular, of the regulations to be enforced having regard to the conditions in the individual countries concerned, and, finally, of the lines on which the separate Training Committees may co-operate in the technique of training. And that, until such a scheme be drawn up, no decision on these matters be taken'.

Dr. Alexander suggested that the Congress should ask the Dutch and American Societies to reconsider the question of admission of lay-candidates. In the event of their agreeing to allow it he was inclined to support the adoption of Jones' resolution for a limited period. He proposed the following resolution:

'That the Congress request the Dutch and American Societies to draw up, within a period of from three to six months, rules for the admission to training of persons without medical qualifications, such conditions to have reference to the conditions of the countries in question as well as the regulations for admission enforced by the other Societies. And that, for the limited period before these regulations are drawn up by the Societies in question, Jones' motion be adopted by the Congress'.

Dr. Reich spoke for Alexander's motion. Frau Dr. Deutsch pointed out that the question of the personal or professional qualifications of

candidates would have to be determined according to the peculiar conditions of the individual countries.

Dr. Simmel suggested that, in view of the great differences of opinion, no binding rule should be made, but that the Congress should content itself with indicating its view. He proposed the following resolution :

' That the Congress *recommend* that, when foreign candidates present themselves for training, the Training Committees of the countries concerned shall arrive at an agreement with regard to the admission of such candidates. And that the resulting data be assembled and examined by the International Training Committee and laid before the next Congress with a view to the drawing up of uniform international regulations on the subject of admission to training '.

Dr. Rickman emphasized the fact that on all sides there was complete confidence in the training provided by the European Institutes. He therefore proposed the following resolution :

' That the Congress direct the separate Branch Societies to see to it that the training of candidates is controlled exclusively by the Training Committees and not by individual persons '.

The President suggested that Dr. Rickman's proposal be adopted at once without discussion. The proposal was carried unanimously.

Dr. Hollós asked whether, having regard to the differences of opinion on this subject and the great affective tension it produced, it would not be better to dispense with a decision at the moment and to postpone the settlement of the point in dispute. Dr. Ferenczi said that, whatever happened, the unity of our organization must be safeguarded. There was no intention of overruling the minority by a final binding decision. He supported Radó's proposal, which he felt made for peace and paved the way for further suggestions.

Dr. Kardiner, referring to Dr. Rickman's resolution, now adopted, expressed his full confidence in the European Training Institutes and especially that of Berlin, with which he had become personally acquainted while staying in Europe this year.

After a few remarks by Drs. Coriat, Weyl, Simmel and Jones, Federn suggested that the proposed resolutions should be voted upon to see what was the feeling of the Congress.

The President announced that five resolutions had been submitted in writing ; those of Jones, Horney, Radó, Alexander and Simmel. After listening to what the proposers had to say about their motions, he held that Radó's resolution was the most comprehensive, and therefore he put it to the vote.

Radó's resolution was adopted by a majority which rendered a vote on the other proposals unnecessary. Protests were made (by Jones, Horney and Anna Freud) that, in spite of the promise given, the minority had been

overruled by the majority. Frl. Anna Freud said that, in her opinion, it was impossible to arrive at a genuine decision that day, and that it would do no good to attempt it.

Dr. Sachs specially emphasized that the resolution adopted was merely a preparatory step towards organization with a view to a *future* decision of the disputed question. It therefore did not override a minority at all. If the Congress forbore to exert its constitutional right to make a decision, the International Psycho-Analytical Association would cease to exist as an organization. Dr. Radó agreed that the preparatory measures determined upon in no way prejudiced freedom of decision on this question upon its merits, at a future date.

Dr. Oberndorf inquired how the votes for and against Radó's resolution were distributed amongst the different Branch Societies.

The President, acting on this suggestion, asked the members to divide according to their votes and their Societies. It was found that *five* Societies, the German, the Vienna, the Hungarian, the French and the Russian, were in favour of Radó's proposal, and *three*, the American, the English and the Dutch, were against. In the different societies there was one dissentient vote in the Vienna group and one in the French. In the Swiss Society the numbers of those for and against were equal.

There followed a discussion on the new scheme for the Statutes of the Association, as drawn up by the Central Executive Committee. Dr. van Ophuijsen had proposed that the Branch Societies themselves, and not the members belonging to them, should be regarded as the units of which the International Association is formed, and that only two delegates from each Society should have the right to vote at the Congress. He now withdrew this proposal, in the hope that at some future date the International Association would spontaneously come round to his view. Dr. Jones regretted that Dr. van Ophuijsen had withdrawn his proposal and said that he himself would submit a similar proposal at the next Congress. The separate paragraphs of the new scheme for the Statutes, as drawn up by the Central Executive Committee, were read over and were all adopted without alteration or with some quite small amendments. (See p. 156 in this JOURNAL.)

Dr. Jones proposed that in case of doubt the German text only of the Statutes should be regarded as authoritative. This proposal was carried.

Dr. Laforgue proposed that the organ of the French Society, *Revue psychoanalytique*, should be recognized as one of the official organs of the International Association. This proposal was carried. The subscription to the French Journal is 50 francs.

Dr. Eitingon proposed that the Congress should send a telegram to Frau Abraham, the widow of the late President of the International Association. This proposal was carried.

Dr. Eitingon asked the Congress for leave for himself, the Treasurer and the two Advisory Members of the Central Executive Committee to retire from office. This was unanimously accorded.

Dr. Eitingon asked Dr. Hitschmann to take the Chair. Dr. Hitschmann complied and asked for nominations for the office of President. In the name of the officials of the Association Dr. Ferenczi proposed Dr. Eitingon. This proposal was unanimously carried with enthusiastic applause. Dr. Eitingon thanked the Association for the confidence reposed in him, and accepted office. He was then, again at Dr. Ferenczi's proposal, re-elected by acclamation as President of the International Training Commission. Dr. Hitschmann stated that, according to the new statutes, Dr. Ferenczi and Dr. Jones would automatically take office as Vice-Presidents. He then vacated the Chair for the newly-elected President.

At Dr. Eitingon's proposal Fräulein Anna Freud and Dr. van Ophuijsen were unanimously elected to the office of General Secretary and Treasurer respectively.

With regard to the next Congress, Dr. Eitingon proposed that its *duration* should be determined by the Executive Committee according to what seemed necessary. This proposal was carried. The next Congress is to take place early in August, 1929. Dr. Jones proposed that it should meet in England, and his proposal was carried by acclamation.

II

Statutes of the International Psycho-Analytical Association

1. *Name of the Association*

The Association shall be called ' The International Psycho-Analytical Association ' (I.P.A.).

2. *Headquarters*

The Headquarters of the I.P.A. shall be the place of residence of the President in office.

3. *Object*

The object of the I.P.A. is the promotion and furtherance of the psycho-analytical branch of science founded by Sigmund Freud, as regards both pure psycho-analysis and its theoretical and practical applications to medicine and the mental sciences; further, the mutual support of its members in all endeavours to acquire or disseminate psycho-analytical knowledge.

Of special value in the promotion of these objects are the establishing and working of Institutes for Research and Instruction in psycho-analysis, as also of Out-patient Treatment Centres, Clinics, besides scientific organizations of other kinds.

4. *Branches and Membership*

The I.P.A. is made up of Branch Societies. These Societies are national or local psycho-analytical groups which have been admitted into the I.P.A. The question of admission of new Branch Societies is decided provisionally by the Central Executive and finally by the Congress ; proposals in this connection must be submitted in writing to the Central Executive of the I.P.A. If a Branch Society desires to withdraw from the Association, notice is to be given in writing to the Central Executive of the I.P.A. The Branch Societies shall submit their statutes, or proposed alterations in their statutes, to the Congress for approval. The statutes of the Branch Societies shall not contain any clause contravening the statutes of the I.P.A.

The Members of the I.P.A. are the ordinary members of the Branch Societies. Membership of the I.P.A. is obtained by becoming an ordinary member of a Branch Society. Every member of the I.P.A can belong to one Branch Society only. Exceptions to this rule may be allowed at the discretion of the Central Executive of the I.P.A. Persons desiring to become members must as a rule apply to the Branch Society nearest to their permanent residence. When application is made by persons of another country or locality, the Councils of the Branch Societies in question shall communicate with one another. Admission to a Branch Society in a country or locality other than that in which the person applying resides must be sanctioned by the Central Executive.

Members of the I.P.A. have the right of voting or being voted for at the Congress. They have also the right to attend the scientific meetings of any Branch Society.

Associate Members of the Branch Societies have the right to be present at the Scientific Meetings of the I.P.A.

5. *Subscriptions*

Every ordinary member of the I.P.A. and every associate member of the Branch Societies shall pay an annual subscription, the amount for the time being to be determined by the Congress. This annual subscription shall include the subscriptions for the official journals of the Association. Subscriptions to be paid to the Treasurers of the Branch Societies, who shall forward them to the Treasurer of the Association.

6. *Congresses*

The ultimate control of the I.P.A. is in the hands of the Congress. The Congress is convoked by the Central Executive of the I.P.A. at least once in every two years and is conducted by the President of the I.P.A.

The following are the regular subjects for deliberation and decision by the Congress :

(*a*) Minutes of the previous Congress ;
(*b*) Reports of the Central Executive and the Branch Societies ;
(*c*) Report of the International Training Commission ;
(*d*) Reports of the Psycho-Analytical Institutes (Clinics, etc.) ;
(*e*) Treasurer's financial statement ;
(*f*) Retirement of the Central Executive and the President of the International Training Commission ;
(*g*) Election of the new Central Executive and of the President of the International Training Commission.

7. *The Central Executive*

The Central Executive shall consist of a President, a Secretary, a Treasurer and two Vice-Presidents.

The President, Secretary and Treasurer shall be elected by the Congress to serve till the next Congress. The Vice-Presidents shall be the two last ex-Presidents of the I.P.A. In the event of a vacancy occurring on the Executive, the Executive shall fill the vacancy.

The Central Executive shall represent the Association externally and shall co-ordinate the work of the Branch Societies. When the Central Executive desires to submit questions of fundamental importance to the decision of the Congress, the President shall first take the opinion of the Branch Societies and inform both the Central Executive and the Congress of the views held by the individual Branch Societies.

8. *The International Training Commission*

The International Training Commission (I.T.C.) is the central agent of the I.P.A. on all matters connected with instruction in psycho-analysis. The I.T.C. shall be composed of a President, elected by the Congress, and of the members of the Training Committees of the Branch Societies. The Training Committee of any Branch Society shall consist of at most seven Members. The President of the I.T.C. shall be elected by the Congress. The I.T.C. shall control its own standing orders and, further, shall have the right to appoint special officers or sub-committees to undertake special duties. Decisions of general importance shall be submitted to the Congress for approval.

9. *Official Organs*

The official organs of the Association shall be appointed by the Congress on the proposal of the Central Executive.

10. *Bulletin*

The Bulletin of the I.P.A. shall appear in all the official organs of the Association in the language in which each organ is published. The Bulletin assists communication between the individual Members of the I.P.A. by publication of the official communications and reports of the Central

Executive, the I.T.C. and the separate Branch Societies. The Bulletin shall be edited by the General Secretary. It shall be the duty of the Secretaries of the Branch Societies at the end of every quarter to send to the editor of the Bulletin a written report of the work of their Societies and of important events connected with them.

11. *Alteration of the Statutes*

The Statutes can be altered only by the Congress and, for this, a majority of two-thirds of the members present is necessary. Any proposal to alter the Statutes can be made only by a group of at least three members of the I.P.A., and must be submitted in writing to the Central Executive at least fourteen days before the time appointed for the Congress to meet.

12. *Dissolution of the Association*

The I.P.A. can be dissolved only by the Congress with a three-quarters majority of the members present. This decision shall be valid only if at least half the members of the I.P.A. are present. If it be decided to dissolve the Association the question of the disposal of the funds of the I.P.A. must also be settled.

III

NOTICE BY THE INTERNATIONAL TRAINING COMMISSION

At the Innsbruck Congress the I.T.C. was directed to draw up and submit to the next Congress a scheme for the international regulation of questions relating to the admission and training of candidates. To carry out this decision of Congress is the first and most important task of the I.T.C. The preliminary work must be begun without delay, if such a scheme is to be ready for the next Congress.

I have therefore asked my colleague Dr. Radó to take over the office of Secretary of the I.T.C., and have delegated to a special sub-committee, consisting of Dr. Horney, Dr. Müller-Braunschweig and Dr. Radó, the task of drawing up the scheme with the co-operation of the Training Committees of the Branch Societies. As soon as possible I will submit to the different Training Committees the first proposals in this connection.

The Training Committees of the Branch Societies are asked to co-operate with us in carrying out this work.

Dr. Max Eitingon,
President of the I.T.C.